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TO THE JESUITS

G. K. CHESTERTON

THE FOUNDER

JOHN CARMEL HEENAN

ST. THECLA

GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS

ROBERT SOUTHWELL

J. J. DWYER

ST. IGNATIUS IN ENGLAND

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JULY 1956

VOL. 16, No. 1

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TO THE JESUITS

By

G. K. CHESTERTON

FLOWER-WREATHED with all unfading calumnies
Scarlet and splendid with eternal slander
How should you hope, where'er the world may
wander,
To lose the long laudation of its lies?

The yellow gods of sunrise saw arise
Your tilted towers that housed the moon and suns,
The red sons of the sunset, not with guns
But with guitars, you ambushed for surprise.

You bade the Red Man rise like the Red Clay
Of God's great Adam in his human right,
Till trailed the snake of trade, our own time's blight,
And man lost Paradise in Paraguay.

You, when the wild sects tortured and mocked each other
Saw truth in the wild tribes that tortured you
Slurred for not slurring all who slurred or slew,
Blamed that your murderer was too much your brother.

You hailed before its dawn Democracy
Which in its death bays you with demagogues
You dared strong kings that hunted you with dogs
To hide some hunted king in trench or tree.

When Calvin's Christ made Antichrist had caught
Even the elect and all men's hearts were hardened,
You were called profligates because you pardoned
And tools of ignorance because you taught.

All that warped world your charity could heal
 And the world's charity was not for you;
 How should you hope deliverance in things new
 In this the last chance twist of the world's wheel?

One, while that wheel as a vast top is twirled
 With every age, realm, riot, pomp or pact,
 Thrown down in thunder like a cataract,
 Said "Fear not; I have overthrown the world."

THE FOUNDER

By

JOHN CARMEL HEENAN

Bishop of Leeds

PERHAPS there is no exact Latin translation of the word "company." This would be an obvious (but probably quite erroneous) explanation of why Pope Paul III in the Bull approving the foundation of the Order used the expression "*Societas Jesu.*" St. Ignatius called it "The Company of Jesus." It seems a pity that the warm and friendly "company" should have been displaced by the organisational "society." To many "society" may seem the more apt description of the followers of St. Ignatius. Jesuits are normally pictured in lecture halls and the pulpits of cathedral churches. The less informed see them also on the fringes of the crowd in court circles. But those who know the Jesuits best see them in the midst of schoolboys, in the social circle of young men, and in the deserts and jungles of missionary lands. Personally I regret that we do not still talk of the Society as the Company of Jesus. Since the Jesuits are reputed to be the most numerous of all Religious it is strange how little is known of them. Those non-Catholics whose knowledge is derived from dictionaries or biased text books of history think of Jesuits as dissemblers—crafty and prevaricating. Nuns regard them as a clerical *élite* whose chief function is to give conferences and expert

spiritual direction. Of Jesuit history little is generally known beyond the story of the suppression. But priests know a great deal more about the Society and increasingly seek its co-operation in apostolic work of every kind.

There is one view of the Society which is almost universal. It is that the Society produces, or even mass-produces, a single type. In one sense this is true. Lengthy and careful training of a specialised kind will produce men striving to conform to the same ideal. It is equally obvious that the Ignatian method is intended to form men who will be obedient and efficient. It is, nevertheless, very wide of the mark to suggest that the Society destroys the personality of its members. "Protestants have declaimed against what they call the iron constraint put upon the human soul. But if one stops to think, how does the Jesuit training differ, unless perhaps in conscientious intensity, from that at West Point or Saint-Cyr? In a military academy the whole weight of authority comes down on the individual soul. Substitute the flag for the cross, country for church, famous generals and marshals for saints and martyrs, honour for grace, and you will find that the constraint in either case is very much the same. Obedience is of equal obligation, the word of the superior as indisputable, the period of preparation about as long. As for liberty of thought, there is no more room for patriotic agnosticism in West Point than for religious agnosticism in a Jesuit College."¹

St. Ignatius, although insisting on prompt obedience, so framed the Constitutions as to give his followers opportunities unprecedented in religious foundations for developing their own bent and genius. The Jesuits are the most individualistic of all Religious. St. Ignatius saw to that. One of the first storms of criticism against him arose from the fact that, for the first time in history, a Religious Order was founded without the obligation of reciting the Divine Office in common. He did not break with tradition because he valued the liturgy less highly than other saints. His view was that the army he recruited was to fight under the banner of Christ not in monasteries but in the world of men. He insisted on the pre-eminence of prayer in the private lives of his soldiers. But he did not want them tied to community duties to the detriment of more directly apostolic work.

¹ Sedgwick, *Ignatius Loyola*, page 223.

St. Ignatius conceived of his Company as an army constantly engaged in the campaigns of war. There was to be no peace-time soldiering in his army. In military schools and barracks mock battles are called off when it is time for dinner or roll-call. The battles against the enemies of Christ were never to be suspended. That is why in the Jesuit Rule the community is only infrequently made to parade.

The alleged sameness of Jesuits is not a reality. They are formed, of course, in the same spiritual mould. But the lines of the mould are not rigid. Once he is trained the Jesuit, more than other Religious, is encouraged to develop his gifts according to his own character. The Rule makes community social duties unexact. If the common life is not at a discount it is certainly not at a premium. Jesuits do not attend choir. They do not normally talk at meals. They are not frequently compelled to take recreation in common. Even their morning meditation is made in their own rooms. The bell sounding for the examen requires them to shut themselves up, not to flock to chapel. A Jesuit, in fact, can easily develop into a lone wolf—or, if you will, a lone fox. He can become progressively odder and more eccentric. He sometimes does. But he can also become more holy. That was the idea in the mind of Ignatius. I have no doubt whatever that his idea is gloriously realised in the lives of most Ignatians.

Extraordinary examples of how the enlightened rule of St. Ignatius permitted the development of individual genius are the life work of such men as St. Francis Xavier and Fr. Ricci. It was only to be expected that this liberty of the subject led to accusations that St. Ignatius was making a virtue of laxity among the members of his Company. The short and sufficient answer to this criticism is the fact that the Society of Jesus has never needed to be reformed. Its Rule and Constitution (approved, it is interesting to note, after the death of the Founder) remain much the same as in their original form. Our saint sought to surround himself with men of God. He was humble enough to realise that, for himself as for those who joined him, natural virtue and good will were not enough. Penance, study, hard work and prayer were recognised as essential pre-requisites for those destined to become successful fighters. But Ignatius, remorseless in his battle against himself, was not, as we shall see, inhuman in his demands upon his recruits.

The greatest single quality of the Society is its complete obedience to authority. Far from intriguing to bend the Holy See to its own way of thinking, the Society from the beginning vowed itself to regard the voice of the Vicar of Christ as the voice of Christ Himself. Jesuits were never so naïve as to pretend that all instructions from the Holy See must be divinely guided. St. Ignatius was not so simple as to imagine that the Sovereign Pontiff would always be inspired when giving orders to his Jesuit sons. But the Constitutions explicitly forbid even the Father General to attempt on his own initiative to influence the Pope to withdraw instructions. Advisers of the General may authorise him to reason with the Holy See. But no Jesuit, however eminent, may seek to evade the consequence of the solemn promise of loyalty and obedience to the See of Peter.

This presupposes a spirit of dedication and self-sacrifice. St. Ignatius believed that there is no other certain path to success in work for the Church of God. Those ill-acquainted with the spirit of the Society sometimes smile at the Jesuit ideal of obedience. They feel it to be unrealistic for a man to compare himself with a dead body to be disposed of at the will of his superior. But, as every commander knows, absolute obedience is essential if soldiers are to win tough battles. Unless the troops under his command are reliable—that is, unless they respond without question to orders—he can have no sense of power. St. Ignatius saw this so clearly that he subjected himself to stern discipline for the example of all in his Company. Among the most moving episodes of the saint's life was his struggle to avoid command. He had no wish to be the first General of the Society of Jesus. He suffered an agony of mind when the first Jesuits elected him their superior. His dilemma lay in the fact that because he required obedience of others he had to submit to their insistence that he should take command.

Ignatius strove to avoid the inevitable. He declared his greater desire to be governed than to govern. He said that he was unable to discover in his soul sufficient strength to rule himself much less to rule others. Like most humble men he was so conscious of the evil habits of his early life and so bitterly alive to what he thought to be his present sinfulness that he begged to be allowed to refuse office. After the unanimous vote of the brethren had been given he urged them to go again into retreat in order to find someone

better suited to the task of ruling the Society. When, after retreat, the vote was once more unanimous he still refused to acquiesce until he had taken the advice of his confessor. He made a general confession. We can imagine that he painted himself as a spiritual monster. He also took the perfectly legitimate course of describing in detail his ill-health and physical weakness.

His confession and his conferences with Fr. Theodore the confessor lasted three days. Having, as he thought, weighted the scales against the possibility of his being considered fit for office, he asked the confessor to order him in the name of Christ to accept or refuse. Naturally enough the good Father ordered him to accept. Ignatius, however, was still hesitant. He begged the priest to pray longer and then send his opinion in writing to the brethren. Three days later the confessor's sealed decision arrived. Ignatius was to be General of the Society he had founded.

Although given to rigid discipline, St. Ignatius was not what we call a hard man. He was always solicitous for the health of his men. Although he had complete confidence in the providence of Almighty God he always insisted that the human means of success should never be neglected. He did not expect God to work miracles to save those who were ruining their health. He was careful therefore, to see that his fellow-Jesuits were fed well and given sufficient rest to retain their strength. Although he was particularly careless about his own health, he safeguarded the health of his community with an almost exaggerated care. When Lent came round he would arrange for each Jesuit to be examined by the doctor before being allowed to fast. This man who was so insistent upon the need for discipline would nevertheless spend hours going through the approved list to make quite sure each was strong enough to withstand the rigorous fasting régime of those days. He was particularly careful of the health of the younger brethren. If they seemed pale or listless he ordered them to take more sleep and gave instructions to the minister of the house that they should have a special diet. It is significant—and typical—that whenever Jesuits were making the Exercises they received extra rations of food in the refectory so that they would have greater bodily strength to endure the severe programme of spiritual duties.

While St. Ignatius was in Rome the procurator of the house was a hardheaded Frenchman named Père Cogordan. He had a

reputation for parsimony. One day the good procurator went out to dine with a Cardinal who feasted him on lampreys. Ignatius was delighted. On his return the well-nourished Père Cogordan was summoned. "I am glad you enjoyed your lampreys," Ignatius said, "but you don't buy the brethren even decent sardines. In future you must buy them lampreys." The Father was horrified and protested that the expense would be intolerable. Ignatius was relentless. "Find the money somehow," he said, "but you must buy the lampreys. It is an order." And an order it remained until the miserly procurator was cured and the brethren properly fed.

It need hardly be said that St. Ignatius was tenderly devoted to the sick. They were always his first care, and, on occasion, he ordered furniture in the house to be sold to provide what the sick needed. On one occasion he even held a lottery to provide money for the sick. This must be a great encouragement to Jesuit parish priests who organise pools for school building. It is almost an axiom that those who are hard on themselves are easygoing with others. This was true of St. Ignatius. He ruled always with good humour. He was never harsh except with those who understood no other language. Those who were weak spiritually or physically he strengthened with the medicine of gentleness. In the consecrated phrase, Ignatius was "all things to all men." But the whole spirit of the Order he founded taught dedication through prayer and discipline.

I have said that it is mistaken to think of Jesuits as men of one type. But in this year of Jubilee they will rejoice that Jesuits the world over are an ornament of the Church of God. They are trustworthy and trusted. In the five continents bishops cease to worry when the Society has accepted an apostolic task. They are exemplary in their immediate response to the call of obedience. The recalcitrant Jesuit is regarded as an oddity not only by the world at large but by the members of his own Company.

ST. THECLA

An Unpublished Poem

By

GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS

THAT his fast-flowing hours with sandy silt
Should choke sweet virtue's glory is Time's great guilt.
Who thinks of Thecla? Yet her name was known,

Time was, next whitest after Mary's own.

To that first golden age of Gospel times

And bright Iconium eastwards reach my rhymes.

Near by is Paul's free Tarsus, fabled where

Spent Pegasus down the stark precipitous air

Flung rider and wings away; though these were none,

And Paul is Tarsus' true Bellerophon.

They are neighbours; but (what nearness could not do)

Christ's only charity charmed and chained these two.

She, high at the housetop sitting, as they say,

Young Thecla, scanned the dazzling streets one day;

Twice lovely, tinted eastern, turnèd Greek—

Crisp lips, straight nose, and tender-slanted cheek.

Her weeds all mark her maiden, though to wed,

And bridegroom waits and ready are bower and bed.

Withal her mien is modest, ways are wise,

And grave past girlhood earnest in her eyes.

Firm accents strike her fine and scrollèd ear,

A man's voice and a new voice speaking near.

The words came from a court across the way.

She looked, she listened: Paul taught long that day.

He spoke of God the Father and His Son,

Of world made, marred, and mended, lost and won;

Of virtue and vice; but most (it seemed his sense)

He praised the lovely lot of continence:

All over, some such words as these, though dark,

The world was saved by virgins, made the mark.

He taught another time there and a third.
 The earnest-hearted maiden sat and heard,
 And called to come at mealtime she would not:
 They rose at last and forced her from the spot.

ROBERT SOUTHWELL

By

J. J. DWYER

AFTER John Gerard and William Weston it is appropriate that we should now have a definite biography of Blessed Robert Southwell.¹ Not only was he—next to Edmund Campion—the most outstanding of an illustrious company; his career is a perfect summary of the period and of the whole nature and character of the Elizabeth-Burghley régime. His origin in a gentle family of wavering religious allegiance, his college and seminary life abroad, his formation and ideals, his ecstatic desire for the mission and for martyrdom, his unconscious contacts with spies and false brethren: all this is both representative and typical. His apostolate in England, his betrayal, his passion, long imprisonment, trial and death have a large place in the story of the English Martyrs. He is, moreover, a literary figure of importance; many to whom his martyrdom is nought are familiar with his poems in the anthologies, while that astonishing prose, *An Humble Supplication*, has answered in advance, and decisively, all those who persist in the conventional falsehood of English history that the missionary priests suffered only for plots and treasons.

Fr. Christopher Devlin, so well known to readers of *THE MONTH*, is well prepared to provide what was needed. Without entering into rivalry with the massive thesis of Janelle, or with the various minor studies of Southwell as man of letters, Fr. Devlin is concerned to delineate Southwell as priest, apostle and martyr; nor need he fear to incur any charge of “wresting the

¹ *The Life of Robert Southwell, Poet and Martyr*, by Christopher Devlin (Longmans 21s).

facts by concentrating the attention on the one man," since that man epitomised all that the English Government was most afraid of and most eager to destroy. As he truly says, Burghley's fear was that if the old religion were allowed to survive it would revive. Though few in number the Jesuit missionaries, by sheer intensity, wrought a vital change in the attitude of a good many of the Recusants. Without forgetting Weston and Garnet and Gerard, Fr. Devlin keeps the light full upon Southwell, notably in regard to his special relations with the Earl and Countess of Arundel, as well as for his unique position as a poet. Janelle was mainly concerned with the "Jesuit neo-classic" and "Counter-Reformation humanist," but in this admirable study we see how the two sides of Southwell's temperament and mentality were interfused so that each intensified the other. Janelle pointed out that Southwell was the living embodiment of a conception of the Christian scholar-and-gentleman which—later on—came to be, with some modification, the English aristocratic ideal, an ideal in no way derived from the boisterous, sensuous, filibustering, "Elizabethan" paganism; and here it is shown to be the specific outcome of brilliant gifts singularly blended and balanced and permeated by a deeply Christian culture.

Southwell was a born writer, and Fr. Devlin, who is imaginative, eloquent and persuasive, has the right style for his subject. The book is full of vivid phrases. The young seminarist feels the pull of sanctity not as a sweet attraction but as a throttling rope. We feel the glittering sharpness of his mind, his blend of cold intelligence and fearless ardour, the touch of dynamite in him. The Counter-Reformation was like a splendid sword blade in a cracked hilt: the blade was spiritual heroism, the hilt was temporal power. Weston escapes falling into the net of the Babington Plot through being of rock-like principle and blessedly limited imagination. The shining band of young recusants were altogether fitted to embody the Spenserian dream of chivalry. St. Ignatius stole much of the fire that might have kindled in England a national religion of myth and monarch-worship. About Elizabeth herself Fr. Devlin for once lets himself go. Where we might perhaps expect to be told that to Catholic Europe she was

la fille de Minos et de Pasiphaë

he roundly calls her "the equivalent of a gangster's Moll."

The reader will ask what is the distinctive contribution here. Much light is thrown upon Blessed Robert's early life and family connections. There are tables showing the marriage relationship with the Copleys, the Shelleys, the Gages, Bacons, and Wriothesleys. One of these explains the connection of the Southwell family with that of Lord Vaux of Harrowden, with the Throckmortons, the Ardens of Warwickshire and therefore with "Master W. S." But closer to the biographer's specific purpose is the ample information about life at the English College, Rome. Here we meet with some of the spies planted by Walsingham and Cecil, and with some of the trouble-makers, not much less dangerous, who almost all of them ended sooner or later by entering the service of the Government. There is a number of letters from Southwell and Garnet, found very recently in Rome, covering the period in England and now used for the first time—a valuable accretion of material for which the author is indebted to Fr. Philip Caraman.

Other interesting points are that there was a general stiffening of recusancy after 1570, that the demand to Allen for missionaries came from England, that the faction at Rheims kept in touch with Gilbert Gifford and Thomas Morgan; that the trouble at Rome was created by a trio of *saboteurs*, Christopher Bagshaw ("doctor erraticus"), John Cecil, and Stephen Gosson, "the reformed playwright." Also, that the real reason for the demand of men like them for the pursuit of higher degrees and doctorates was the resolve to get out of going on the English mission. Fr. Persons, it appears, did not sympathise with the intended invasion of 1588, and took a smaller part in politics than is usually ascribed to him, his main interest being always in Allen's colleges. Incidentally, Fr. Devlin quietly throws over Persons on the point of the Deposing Power, observing that this was still a disputed matter among the theologians and that "it was not conducive to martyrdom to know that one might be dying horribly for the wrong side in a scholastic debate." Persons had maintained in his *Responsio* that the Deposing Power was to be regarded as an article of faith. Fr. Devlin's conclusion about Thomas Morgan is that he was all along a servant of Walsingham, otherwise it is incredible that he would have had anything to do with Robert Poley after the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. Traitors and those who were versed in the art of "double-crossing" simply

abound throughout this time. That is why Master Secretary had little need to attempt to inveigle obviously innocent and single-minded people like Weston when there were so many willing and wicked tools to be had. Indeed, it is impossible to read a few pages about this epoch of vicissitude and upheaval without recalling the contemporary adage,

The vice of the French is lechery,
The vice of the English is treachery.

In a brief Appendix Fr. Devlin glances at the much-discussed question of the "stirs" in the English College at Rome, and gives good reason for dissenting from the somewhat hasty conclusions of Cardinal Gasquet.

The second Appendix is of great interest in which the authorship of the memorial of 1584 ("Burghley's Memorial"), entitled *An Antidote against Jesuitism written by the Lord Treasurer Burleigh to Queen Elizabeth*, is discussed. In this document the Queen is advised to divide the Catholics in their loyalties by framing a new oath of allegiance and by forcing them to answer yes or no to the question: "If the Pope were to send an invading army, would you take up arms against him?" Here we have the origin both of "The Bloody Question" and of the famous Oath of 1606.

For the rest, the heroic and pitiful story, so well known to all readers of THE MONTH, is clearly and vividly told, down to the moment of martyrdom when Lord Mountjoy, who must have been there with intent, saved his friend from the final horrors. And, strange to say, there is reason to believe that Mountjoy, who at that time was very much with the Queen, had some authority for his humane and generous action.

A short but very interesting chapter is No. 10, "The Secret Press." This apparently was at Acton. The Countess of Arundel had a small house there to which she was wont to retire when the Queen came to stay at Somerset House; and it must have been at Acton that "J. C., the Earl of Arundel's man" printed Southwell's *Epistle of Comfort*. John Gerard says: "Fr. Southwell had a great benefactress . . . and he was able with her help to maintain himself and some other priests as well as keep a private house where he usually received the Superior on his visits to London. It was there I first met them both; there, too, that Fr. Southwell had his printing press where his own admirable

books were produced." It is one of the astonishing things about this story that a mystic who had an irrepressible longing for martyrdom should have been able for years to carry on so practical a work as an apostolate of the press for the encouragement of the brethren and at the same time to write and circulate poems for the expression of his own personal literary and devotional instincts.

It is curious that Southwell should have heard of the Babington Plot before it was actually launched. "At the Queen's Court," he reported to Rome, "they say that there is a business in hand which, if it succeeds, will mean ruin for us; but, if it fails, all will be well." And it is in the *Humble Supplication* that we get the first real information about it. There he relates that the copy of the letter which Babington sent to the Queen of Scots "was brought to him ready penned by Pooley from Master Secretary, the answer whereof was the principal ground of the Queen's condemnation." How that answer was concocted we now know, thanks to the masterly examination of the whole story by the late A. Gordon Smith,¹ who not only proved that the Government did forge the vital passages in the letter, but showed how it was done. The frontispiece of his book is a facsimile of the forged postscript with the endorsement by "Phelippes the Decipherer": "I shall be glad to know the names and qualities of the six gentlemen who are to accomplish the designment. . . ." Then there is the fraudulent insertion made by the forger in his "copy" of Mary's letter worded to correspond with the postscript: "By what means do the six gentlemen deliberate to proceed?" The way the trick was worked was that the original by Curle, Mary's secretary ("A"), was retained by Walsingham and the deciphered copy with its fatal additions was sent on to Babington ("B"). What Curle was confronted with was not the interpolated copy, "B," but his own letter, "A," which he of course acknowledged. It was then put out that Mary's secretary admitted sending "B."

Those who do not know about the dealings of the "most merciful Princess" with Topcliffe may be surprised to hear that she inquired of Burghley what means was there whereby the conspirators could be put to the extremity of suffering. The fourteen condemned men were executed in two batches of seven.

¹ *The Babington Plot*, by A. Gordon Smith, 1936.

For the first seven the proceedings were "protracted for more terror," and the spectacle was so ghastly that the crowd, horror-struck, created an uproar. The second batch were thereupon executed without being cut down fully conscious, and a lying communiqué was issued that the Queen "detesting such cruelty, had given orders. . . ." This was not the only instance where Gloriana successfully played the weathercock. She did it over the condemnation of Philip, Earl of Arundel; over the actual execution of Mary Stuart; over the cruel treatment of Margaret Ward and other women; and notably over the deportation of batches of priests instead of the general slaughter demanded by Walsingham and the Puritans. The reason, of course, was not mercy, but to have an answer to the horror expressed in the Courts of Europe by the continuing reports of executions.

The famous Proclamation of 1591, a diatribe against "priests and Jesuits," declared to be the Queen's enemies, evoked the superbly eloquent reply, the *Humble Supplication*. It is a passionate defence of the Catholics, an assertion of their political loyalty, and a vehement indictment of the cruelty, injustice and hypocrisy of the persecution. It also contains a harrowing account, never cited or referred to in books about "the Elizabethan Age," of the horrible cruelties practised on the Catholic prisoners—the very tortures which he himself was soon to suffer. These hideous things were done in various prisons, *e.g.*, the Gatehouse, Bridewell, and in the unique case of Topcliffe, in a private house, so that it could be denied in public and in print that certain people had been "racked in the Tower." This, again, actually happened at Southwell's own trial where Coke and Topcliffe shouted that he had never been racked—a remarkable assertion from men who disliked Equivocation. But the essence of the protest was that the Catholics were suffering for their religion and not for politics, coupled with vehement repudiation of any desire or intent to aid foreign foes: it was for their Faith they died. As the judges said, at the trials, many things were urged against the prisoners, but they could pronounce sentence of death "only upon the Statute." As for answers to "the Bloody Question," Southwell declared that the tortures employed could extract any answer to any question; and yet, in fact, only one priest is on record as having said that he would side with the invaders. "And if this saying be true, that none are troubled for Religion, what," he

asks, "keepeth at this hour at London, York, Wisbech, and other places great numbers of poor Catholics in prison." As for the lie that Catholics who kept quiet were not impeached in their goods or lands, Recusant fines of £260 per annum (£20 per lunar month) soon beggared all but the rich, and where these fines were unpaid, two-thirds of the land and *all goods* could be taken in lieu, which promptly rendered poorer people destitute.

It is indicative of the way in which the history of this period is presented that as recently as 1953 an edition of the *Humble Supplication*,¹ founded on the manuscript in the Inner Temple Library, appeared with a careful restoration of the text and an Introduction that was completely wide of the mark. While acknowledging that Southwell's protest is "a deeply moving work" and "an admirable expression of his uncompromising firmness in matters of religion," the Introduction represents it as little more than a document in the dossier of the Archpriest Controversy. Southwell is represented as being at variance with his Jesuit brethren, through being more loyal than they were; moreover, the well-known convention of petitions in which it is assumed that the gracious Sovereign is unaware of the injustices being perpetrated (these being the work of Ministers) is completely disregarded. A further and clearer indication that this editor was determined to misunderstand the petition is the inclusion among the appendices of a document of 1602 in which the Appellants dishonestly extracted pieces of what Southwell wrote in the hope that these isolated extracts would damage his memory at Rome, while the editor's suggestion that a national branch of the Catholic Church, "essential for the emotional needs of the average English Catholic," could have been ever contemplated by a Jesuit missionary really touches the limit of absurdity.

It was a mark of Henry VIII's excessive guilt that he knew the quality of those he murdered: Fisher, More, the Countess of Salisbury and "the poet, Surrey." Elizabeth likewise had seen and spoken with Campion, and she must have heard a good deal about Southwell, who knew Mountjoy, Ferdinando Stanley (Lord Strange), Penelope Rich and others of her Court. She had less personal antipathy for the Catholics than for the Puritan

¹ *An Humble Supplication to Her Maiestie*, by Robert Southwell. Edited by R. C. Bald (Cambridge University Press).

extremists whom she knew to be politically disloyal; actually she had never shared the blind hatred of Walsingham, Huntingdon, Knollys and the rest for her Catholic subjects, who were ready to respond with full loyalty to toleration. Yet she was willing not only to allow the operation of "the Statute," but to grant her express personal licence to the diabolical Topcliffe privately to torture them as he should think fit.

Lavish quotation of Southwell's verse is not consonant with the purpose and scheme of the book, but enough is given to attract new readers and to indicate, in particular, the Jesuit's mastery of the *sestina*, which he had early learned to use and to love in Italy. Here are some noble lines devoted to that gracious figure, Anne, Countess of Arundel:

Fair soul, how long shall veils thy graces shroud?
 How long shall this exile withhold thy right?
 When will thy sun disperse his mortal cloud,
 And give thy glories scope to blaze their light?
 Oh, that a star more fit for angels' eyes
 Should pine in earth, not rise above the skies!

And again the Shakespearean quality, and almost the tone, is perceived in a stanza from *Peter's Complaint*:

Sleep, Death's ally, oblivion of tears,
 Silence of passions, balm of angry sore,
 Suspense of loves, security of fears,
 Wrath's lenity, heart's ease, storm's calmest shore:
 Sense's and soul's reprieve from all cumbers,
 Benumbing sense of ill with quiet slumbers.

In the eighteenth chapter, "Master W. S.," Fr. Devlin goes some way to establish a definite connection, both personal and literary, between "R. S." and his worthy, good cousin "Master W. S.," who, though the point is not unduly pressed, can hardly be other than Shakespeare. The theory is based in part on the undoubted family connection, as can be seen from the genealogical tables, and by the dedicatory letter in prose which our poet intended for a group of his poems and which was printed years after his death. "W. S.," a devotee, it would seem, of poetry and the stage, is advised to desist from abusing his talent and to know "the true use of measures and footed style." We are to connect this advice, so characteristic of the poet-priest, with the

wave of repentance that certainly came over a group of the poets and University wits after the death of Robert Greene. There is, too, the change of tone, if not of subject, between *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, and the implication is that the latter poem, "the graver labour," is the result of a change of outlook, in some degree a response to Southwell's exhortation. Fr. Devlin finds, as others have done, resemblances between *Lucrece* and *Peter's Complaint* that are both numerous and impressive, despite the external dissimilarity of the two poems. Shakespeare, trying his hand at a loftier theme, has made his poem much more of an allegory—the violation of the soul by sin—than a description of the chosen incident. Thus it may be claimed with some probability that Robert Southwell's last service to English letters was "to rouse Shakespeare to a loftier conception of the divine spark within him."

ST. IGNATIUS IN ENGLAND

By

W. PETERS

ST. IGNATIUS visited England in the summer of the year 1530. He had just finished his third year at the Paris University. Collecting alms in Paris interfered too much with his studies, so he reserved his summer holidays for begging. In 1528 and in the following year he had been to Flanders, and probably some ports on the west coast of France. Now, in 1530, he decided to cross the English Channel. And in this country he was given so much in alms that for the rest of his stay in Paris, till the year 1535, there was no further need for him to beg.

It would be pleasant to think that the English people were more generous towards Ignatius than the French and Flemish had been, and that consequently the grateful Ignatius took nation and

country much to heart. Proof of this might be seen in his tenacious endeavours to found a college in England some twenty years later, although he met with no success, notwithstanding the goodwill shown by Cardinal Pole and the appeal made by Ignatius, more than once, to Mary's consort, Philip. Further evidence might perhaps be gathered from the knowledge that Ignatius ordered all the members of his Society to say a weekly Mass for England, if it were not for the fact that he couples England with Germany and given the reason for his order that heresy was threatening both countries. In fact, we are almost forced to admit that England and the English situation remained unfamiliar to Ignatius. No one reading his numerous letters can fail to notice how he usually mentions England and Flanders together and how a mission to Flanders implies a mission to England, as it did, for instance, in the case of Fr. Peter Ribadeneira. When Charles V abdicated in October 1555 and Philip, el Rey di Ingliterra, as Ignatius calls him, is ruler of Flanders also, the association of England with Flanders becomes even more frequent. Indeed he appears to have taken it for granted that permission to found a college in Flanders also meant starting one in England, and vice versa. It is only when Philip makes a clear distinction between these countries, that Ignatius is compelled to view them as altogether different; and it is at this time that he first begins to insist that his disciples should always learn the language of the country in which they reside. Ignatius, who saw the members of his Order working in Spain, Portugal, Italy and Sicily, France, Germany and Austria, Brazil, the Indies and Japan, never lived to see them in England. But he was consoled to hear that the Papal Legate, Cardinal Mottula, had promised to take two Jesuits as theologians with him to England.

It is not surprising that Ignatius had such few contacts with English people. After all, it is unlikely that he expected the English to help him out of his financial difficulties any more than the Flemings. He relied on the Spanish merchants in both countries to understand his case; but it is very doubtful whether in England he was actually helped by them. For one thing: why should he come to this country to meet them, if there were merchants, already known to him, just across the French border? Moreover, if he did approach Spanish merchants in London, why should they have been so much more generous than their countrymen in Flanders, for, as we have said, this London visit made it unneces-

sary for him to beg any longer? There must have been some other means of assistance.

There was in England a Spanish lady of high rank, who was known to be strongly in favour of the new humanism, and took a great interest in penurious students both at Oxford and Cambridge, whom she helped with grants of money. There is no reason to assume that this lady, namely, Henry's wife, Catherine of Aragon, should restrict her generosity to English students; the love for the country of her birth never weakened, her Spanish pride never left her, part of her court was Spanish. It was only natural that she should take an interest in the student, a Spanish ex-caballero, belonging to a Basque family renowned for its loyalty to her parents, Ferdinand and Isabella. Before crossing to England to become Arthur's wife, she might have met Ignatius, for though he was never a page in the strict sense of the word, he moved in court circles; or she might even have heard reports about her niece, Dona Catalina, the daughter of Philip the Fair and Juana la Lorca, who was on terms of close friendship with the young hidalgo from Loyala—assuming, of course, that this girl was the lady "of no ordinary nobility, not a countess nor a duchess, but one of higher standing than any of these," to whom Ignatius lost his heart. But even without these suppositions, the distance between the Spanish Queen in England, so liberal towards poor students, and the Spanish ex-knight, now a student begging in England, can be spanned.

If Ignatius had still worn his doublet and sword and all the other paraphernalia of the *gentilhombre*, he might have been introduced without difficulty into court circles, but with all these he had parted eight years previously. He was now a short, middle-aged man, poor and poorly dressed, looking sickly with stomach trouble, and limping badly: a shade of his proud former self. There must then have been some person influential enough to introduce him to the Queen. It has been suggested that the go-between was a member of the Charterhouse community. We know that Ignatius did not stay in the houses of the rich Spanish merchants: that he had a very great respect and love for the Carthusian Order. Indeed, at one time he thought of becoming a Carthusian monk, and he had actually sent to make enquiries about the possibility of entering the Order. Later he was to count the Carthusians of Cologne among his dearest friends. However, this does not prove any special

contact between the London Charterhouse and Ignatius. Moreover, if Ignatius had stayed for any length of time within the precincts of the Charterhouse, the martyrdom of the most eminent members of this community five years after his visit must have moved him profoundly, and we might expect some reference to this event in his writings, then or later. But there is nothing in his letters that refers to the sad but heroic end of these Carthusian martyrs, not even in his letters to the Carthusians at Cologne. We must then look for a link between the Queen and Ignatius elsewhere.

One of Ignatius's friends in Paris was de Castro, the brother-in-law of a certain Gonsalvez de Aguilera, a Spanish merchant at Bruges. Both men were known to the very famous Spanish scholar, Luiz de Vives, and it is certain that in 1529 Vives spent the summer in Flanders: he was at Antwerp in June, and at Bruges in August (whence he wrote a letter to Erasmus). It is possible that Ignatius and Vives met for the first time during this summer, which they both spent in Flanders. Within the year they dined together in Bruges, as we know from Ignatius's biography, written many years afterwards by his untiring secretary, Polanco. There can be no doubt whatever that Vives, a learned humanist and educationist—himself a Spaniard and the same age as Ignatius—took an interest in his student friend from Paris. He was so impressed by Ignatius that he even prophesied that one day he would be the founder of a new religious Order. Vives appears also to have given Ignatius his first English disciple in the Hampshire man called Helyar, who has left us the second oldest text of the *Spiritual Exercises*. Helyar was a pupil of Vives, probably at Corpus Christi, Oxford, a centre of the new humanism founded by Bishop Fox of Winchester. Now Vives happened to be very well known to Queen Catherine, and enjoyed her favour and confidence. At one time she had entrusted the education of her daughter, the Princess Mary, to this scholar, who laid down his educational principles and theories in his *Institutio Feminae Christianae*. He made frequent visits to England and used to converse with the Queen, at times accompany her, especially when the "King's matter" came up. He was appointed one of the Queen's advisers, and told her to hold fast to the validity of her marriage with Henry. From a letter to Wallot we know that Vives was with the Queen at Richmond in the summer of 1530.

This was the summer Ignatius was in England, a poor University student from Paris, who had known far better days, had been in trouble with the Inquisition in Spain, and had met with suspicion from the authorities of Paris University. The Queen, always generous towards poor students, was now in great distress because of her husband's determination to get his marriage annulled. She was now inclined to withdraw from court life and spent her days at Richmond. From there she often went over to Syon Monastery to pray. Vives was frequently seen with the Queen at Richmond, and even accompanied her to Syon Monastery. At this time Vives was fascinated by the character and the vague plans of the Basque nobleman, Ignatius.

There is no direct proof that Ignatius spent his London days at Syon: there were more monasteries in and around London than the Charterhouse or Syon Monastery. But if Vives was the man who introduced Ignatius to the Queen, then Ignatius probably did stay at Syon. Vives was acquainted with an outstanding member of the Syon community, namely, Richard Whitford, the friend of St. Thomas More, Erasmus and of Lord Mountjoy, whose sister was one of the Queen's ladies-in-waiting. Whitford, too, had his connections with Corpus Christi, and he had also spent some time at Paris University when he was chaplain to Lord Mountjoy. Moreover, Whitford was a learned and holy man. Vives would know that Ignatius would be welcomed by Whitford, who had also undergone a true conversion and thrown away the prospect of advancement in the Church to withdraw to Syon Monastery.

This monastery housed an interesting community. It had been founded by Henry V in 1415, and it was laid down that there were not to be more than eighty-five members, a number representing the seventy-two disciples and the twelve apostles, to which St. Paul is added. Of these eighty-five persons, sixty were to be nuns, thirteen priests (the apostles), four deacons (in honour of Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory and Jerome) and eight lay-brothers. A list of the year 1518, the eve of Whitford's joining, shows that the community was then fairly complete. It had recently greatly improved its monastic spirit, and it was to give England one of her first martyrs in Fr. Richard Reynolds, the Superior, who was executed with the first Carthusians in 1535.

Whitford had a great share in this improved discipline. He was

now a man of over fifty. He had known the three universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Paris; he had been chaplain to Fox, Bishop of Winchester, and might have reached a most eminent position in the Church had he not become a monk of Syon. He was a saintly priest, and was chosen by the Queen to be her confessor. He was sorely grieved at the state of the religious life in his country, and startled at the ignorance and abuses he found even in this monastery. At once he set to work to translate the rule, that all the members of the community might at least read and understand it. He then wrote a Commentary on the Rule, and followed this with a treatise on the religious life, which was then being attacked from without by Luther and Tyndale, from within by laxity of interpretation and observance. The *decay*—a word he often uses in this connection—is caused by lack of striving after spiritual progress and perfection. For where perfection is not sincerely sought, a worldly spirit enters the heart of the monk or nun, and a love of comfort subverts holy poverty. Whitford is very severe, almost violent, when dealing with all the abuses rampant in connection with poverty. "Ladye Dame Obedience" is to him "the mistress of the rule;" it is the surest means to follow God's will. He speaks of various kinds and motives of obedience, ever returning to the great principle and foundation, that "obedience is shown to God whose room and place they [the superiors] bear and use."

But knowing that no number of rules could restore true fervour, Whitford wrote several treatises on prayer, penance and the sacraments. It is here that we meet the translator of the *Imitation of Christ*, the author of the *Jesu Psalter*, the spiritual director substituting for the empty formalities "knowledge found out without any master or teacher" by means of meditation and contemplation of the mysteries of Christ's life. Whitford is at first rather methodical. He has to instruct the reader in this form of prayer. But he is aware how through lack of wisdom and discretion we are deceived "by the great old enemy the devil, who doth many times transfigure, translate and change himself into the form and likeness of a bright and good angel, that is, that he will move and steer many persons into a thing that is of itself good and marvellous, unto the end, purpose and intent to deceive, and much rather thereby to noy and hurt."

Whitford was as much concerned about the spiritual life of men

and women in the world, and for them too he wrote a number of simple and very practical devotional books. He firmly teaches them the practice of daily examination of conscience, and at the same time leads them to a simple form of mental prayer on the ten commandments, the precepts of the Church, the works of mercy and the capital sins. It is very clear that Whitford moves from prayers said to "prayers thought," from law and letter to the spirit, the spirit of humility that leads to frequent confession as the immediate preparation for worthily celebrating the Holy Eucharist. We feel inclined to add that Whitford always moves from the notional to the real, a forerunner of Newman.

In all this Whitford is inspired with a great love for the Church, Christ's "chase Espouse and our good moder," but now sorely decayed even in his own country, because men do not work God's will; and here he confesses that he himself falls short of his ideal, so that he asks his friends to pray for the grace and mercy to "werke Goddes wyllle."

All too often Ignatius is pictured as a man, armed with his *Spiritual Exercises*, ever on the look-out for persons willing to submit to their stern discipline. But it is rather the opposite that is true. He tells us in his *Autobiography* how he was always looking for spiritual men with whom to converse. This was only natural. A man does not readily betray his secret of supernatural favours to another unless he feels that the other will understand. The need to confide such favours is understandable, too, because the burden of visions and revelations is too much for man to bear by himself. St. Ignatius went to England, favoured with most astounding graces, which were not confined to the period of his conversion eight years previously. Moreover, he knew only too well how difficult at times it is to discern the good and evil spirits. For this reason too he felt the need to converse with truly spiritual men, in order to be guided and taught.

On the other hand there can be no doubt that Ignatius wanted others to share the riches he had received, the more so as he saw how much emptiness, sham and superficiality there was within the Church, "*nuestra sancta madre Iglesia, esposa de Christo nuestro Senor.*" From his own experience he knew that the remedy was given with true humility, the truth, that is, that one is a sinner; and so he taught people to examine their consciences, showed

them a simple form of mental prayer on the commandments, the precepts of the Church, the capital sins, the works of mercy. He insisted on frequent confession and weekly Holy Communion. But if he could, he preferred to lead men and women on to meditation and contemplation of the mysteries of the life of Christ, that they might come to the knowledge which consists in understanding and savouring God's will and truth interiorly. His mind often turned to the religious life. Although he was still a layman himself, the idea of a new religious Order had never left him since the days of his conversion. It was at present rather vague, but later he looked back and saw how the idea of his new Order had gradually taken shape in his mind. During this time he kept a keen eye on what was happening around him. If afterwards he was so very strict about the vow and spirit of poverty, it is because he had seen the "decay" of religion. The unbecoming behaviour of many religious men and women turned his mind to the indispensable safeguard of outward modesty, living upon a spirit of interior recollection. But obedience is going to be the hall-mark, not for the sake of strict discipline within his Order, but as an infallible means of finding the will of God. He knew that a reformation was much needed, and that any reformation was the work of God, relying upon man's co-operation or sanctity, which guaranteed his adaptability to God's purposes.

Vives knew Whitford and admired him; Vives knew Ignatius and respected him. When he sent Ignatius to the Queen, he knew that Ignatius would go to Syon Monastery. He certainly knew that Whitford and Ignatius were two kindred souls, if ever there were two. It is as if in the description of the two men we have just given we see them comparing notes. If we take the text of Whitford's devotional and religious treatises, and read these in conjunction with the text of the *Spiritual Exercises*, as it must have been in the year 1530, we come across too many parallelisms of thought and expression to attribute them to accident or to a common source.

Here the two men are, in the summer of 1530, walking in the grounds of the monastery beside the Thames, or perhaps silently looking at the stars—a love they had in common. The wise, saintly and very serious Whitford, yet with something fiery in his glance, full of pity for the Church, yet burning with indigna-

tion towards the men responsible for its decay: a sweet and tender lover, who could pray for his stony heart to be changed into one of flesh; and with him the limping student from Paris, a man of astounding revelations and visions, on fire with love of the Church: wanting to help and groping his way towards full knowledge of God's will.

They slowly find each other, and confide in each other their love for God and His Church. Both become the richer by this meeting, but Ignatius profited most. Not only because he was a layman and the younger man, lacking the practical experience in guiding souls that Whitford possessed, but principally because Ignatius was still uncertain of himself and inclined to be scrupulous. What Ignatius needed was a director who understood, a priest of learning and experience, able to help him to discern the good and evil spirits. This Whitford did for him. It was the best gift Whitford and England could have given Ignatius: an assurance of himself, carrying with it the authority of a holy monk. On his return to Paris Ignatius appears more sure of himself—he at once tackles the Inquisition, and of his own accord presents himself to Master Ori—and is now more determined to gather round himself young men willing to be led. His life is taking shape, and Ignatius becomes more practical and a greater realist. Surely this is a greater gift than all the money which, as Araoz tells us, he collected in England.

THE FAMILY OF EDMUND CAMPION

By

LESLIE CAMPION

EDMUND CAMPION was born on 25 January 1540 and was judicially murdered at Tyburn on 1 December 1581, but his origins are still shrouded in mystery. His biographers have left us with the picture of a poor boy, the son of unknown and humble parents, who achieved an international reputation through his own effort and ability. Research into the family of that time has produced a good deal of interesting information, which suggests that this view of Edmund's parents may not be correct.¹ It is probable that Edmund came from a prosperous business family which included such men as William Campion, Master of the Grocers Company;² Thomas Campion, Freeman and possibly Master of the Merchant Taylors Company;³ Edmund Campion, yeoman, of Sawston;⁴ and William Campion of Hertford, gentleman.⁵

We know nothing of young Edmund's early education, and although Sir Michael McDonnell has found evidence which suggests that he attended St. Paul's School for a short time, his name is always associated with Christ's Hospital, which was originally founded in 1552 as an orphanage and school for the destitute children of London. It is probable that too much emphasis has been placed on this fact, and it is very evident that it may have but little significance in assessing the social and financial status of his father. There is no record of Edmund in the Hospital's

¹ My grateful thanks are due to many, but more particularly to my cousin, Ita Coombes, whose enthusiasm has been a constant stimulus for many years, and whose more intimate knowledge of the family she has placed unstintingly at my disposal. To T. F. Teversham, also, I am much indebted; many a scene from medieval England still lives in his *History of Sawston*, and his transcripts of the Court Rolls of the four Sawston Manors have added greatly to my knowledge and delight.

² P. C. C. 1530.

³ Ibid., 1538.

⁴ Con. Court Ely 1545.

⁵ P. C. C. 1576.

admission registers or minute books, neither can any trace be found of his being an exhibitor to Oxford during the years 1557-1568. Although the possibility of him having been an unrecorded Founder cannot be excluded, tradition has it that he was a non-Founder, probably a private pupil of one of the Hospital's masters.¹

Before leaving the subject of Christ's Hospital, there is one point of interest which has not been previously recorded. As an alderman of the city of London and Lord Mayor in 1553, Sir Thomas White would almost certainly have been a member of the court of governors of the hospital. Fr. Persons tells us that it was the Company of the Merchant Adventurers which approached White to admit Edmund to his new foundation of St. John the Baptist at Oxford. Richard Simpson maintained that it was the Grocers Company. Possibly they were both wrong, the seeds of the friendship between Edmund and Sir Thomas White may have been sown at Christ's Hospital.

Writing of Edmund, Fr. Persons tells us also that "His parents were not wealthy in the riches of this world, but very honest and Catholic." This again may be misleading, as the expression "not wealthy" suggests a state which is purely relative. It was very much an age of expansion, and fortunes were being made in the London business world. Thomas Campion of London, Loughton and Sawston, left about £75,000 at present values, while his friend and colleague, Sir Thomas White, amassed an enormous fortune, and having no children he expended most of it on educational foundations like St. John's College, Oxford, and the Merchant Taylors School. Judged by these standards and with four children to educate, Edmund the bookseller may have considered himself a poor man, but at the same time he may have been adequately provided with this world's goods.

From Fr. Christopher Grene we get a little more information, reputed to have been given by Edmund himself at Brunn in 1573-4, where he served part of his novitiate. He stated that he was thirty-four years of age, born in lawful wedlock of Catholic parents who by that time were both dead. His father, also named Edmund, was a bookseller of modest fortune.

This description of bookseller could have had more than one meaning, and when amplified by the words "of modest

¹ From the Clerk of Christ's Hospital.

fortune" it rather suggests that he was in business on his own account. In order to trade in books he must have been able to read them—Latin and Greek as well as English—and it is probable that he was a well-educated man. The significance of this is apparent when it is remembered that the population of the country had been decimated by the black death, and was little more than three millions in all; apart from the clergy and the members of the Inns of Court, there were very few who could read and write, and most of the members of the wealthy business and land-owning classes—men like Sir Thomas White—were even unable to sign their own names. This fact alone would have given considerable social status to Edmund senior, and as Sir Michael McDonnell has pointed out, he was probably a close neighbour and friend of the highmaster of St. Paul's School. No record of his death has been found, but the approximate date can possibly be deduced from other facts in our possession.

Like most of his contemporaries at Oxford, young Edmund received free board and lodging from his college, but he does not seem to have been short of money.¹ It is evident that he must have had some source of private income in addition to the forty shillings yearly left to him in 1560 by Anthony Hussey, a Master in Chancery and the principal Registrar to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Clothes were an expensive item at that time and his later frequent visits to the English Court must have necessitated not a little expenditure on his wardrobe. The Grocers Company has always received the credit for arranging this very necessary finance, but in actual fact their small exhibition was not granted till Edmund had been at Oxford for nine years, and it was withdrawn two years later on account of his heterodoxy.² His old friend and benefactor Sir Thomas White may have provided it, but if so we should expect to find some provision for Edmund in his will when he died in 1564, but all we see is the gift of the customary black gown which was left to near relatives and dependants.³

To the President of St. John the Baptist College a black gown. To Edmund Campion, John James and William Colsell, to each of them a black gown apiece.

¹ See Richard Simpson, pp. 6 and 73.

² Records of the Grocers Company.

³ P. C. C. 1567 36 Stonarde.

The simplest and most probable explanation is that Edmund was in receipt of a small allowance from his father, and when it suddenly ceased he found himself in a difficult position. Had White been alive he could have appealed to him for assistance, but instead he turned to the Grocers Company, whose Roll of Freeman contained the names of half a dozen or more members of the Campion family, starting in 1475. The exhibition was granted in September 1566, so it is probable that his father died earlier in the same year.

Through his personality and his ability Edmund made friends easily, but it was mainly due to his many family connections that he was able to make friends in the right places. It was this which brought him to the Grocers Company in his financial difficulty, this, too, which caused no less a personage than the Lord Mayor of London to intercede with the Company on his behalf, when they withdrew his exhibition, and entreat them

... to be good to Mr. Campian, there late scoller . . .¹

As a result of this intervention, the company granted an exhibition of £3 6s 8d for six months, during which period his old friend Bishop Cheney of Gloucester appears to have come to Edmund's rescue by appointing him Vicar of Sherbourne in Gloucestershire.²

It is an interesting fact that throughout his life in this country, Edmund never lacked friends in high places, many of whom were connected in one way or another with the Campion family of London, Essex and Sawston. The weight of circumstantial evidence connecting him with this family is considerable, and it seems difficult to doubt that he was a member of it.

There were three main branches, traditionally descended from a Norman knight who came to this country from Compiègne, and from which village the family took its name. The first owned the manor of Campion's Hall, Epping, which was worth about £180.³ When they moved south to London and Sussex, they left the manor to William Blackwell, town clerk of London, on his marriage to Margaret Campion of the Witham family, about the year 1530.⁴ There was a grant of arms about this time

¹ Records of the Grocers Company.

³ Morant, *History of Essex*, 1768.

² *Alumni Oxoniensis*.

⁴ *Essex Harleian*.

and they are borne by the Campions of Danny Place, Sussex, at the present.

The second branch was that of Witham and London; Brewers, Grocers, Mercers, Merchant Tailors, Merchant Adventurers, and others who merely styled themselves gentlemen. The grant of arms in this case was considerably later, about 1620, and the family was a direct offshoot of the third, and probably senior branch, which lived in the little town of Sawston in Cambridge-shire.

The Sawston family appears to be the only one which fulfils the three pre-requisites in any search for Edmund. First, it was Roman Catholic like the lord of the manor, John Huddleston; secondly, it made good use of the name Edmund; and thirdly, when compared with its London cousins "it was not wealthy in the riches of this world." The name Edmund was peculiar to it, no instance of its use having been found in the pedigrees of Sussex and Witham, and it was evidently borrowed by the family in the first instance from the lord of the manor and owner of Sawston Hall, Sir Edmund de la Pole, brother of the Duke of Suffolk.

The Irish Campions bear yet another coat of arms, which is common to all four branches of their family. They claim descent from the Campions of Essex, and it is stated in *Leitrim Castle* that the first settlers reached Ireland at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

It is interesting to compare the financial position of the London business element with that of their country cousins of Sawston, where at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Edmund Campion, yeoman, was farming land which had been in the possession of the family since 1394 and possibly earlier.¹

Thomas Campion, Merchant Tailor, of London, Loughton and Sawston,² had left about £200 to each of his children as their "child's part" of his estate. There were monetary bequests to many of the family, and also to the poor persons of three parishes and to every poor prisoner in each of the four London prisons. Also,

I forgive my brother Robert all such debts as he doth owe unto me . . . and I forgive my cousin Edmund Campion of Sawston all the debts he oweth me.

¹ Sawston Manor Court Rolls.

² P. C. C. 1538.

Of bequests to the Church there were none. By this time the dissolution of the monasteries was a *fait accompli*, and legalised robbery of the churches had put an end to any generosity in this direction. His cousin Robert Campion, Grocer, of London and Sawston¹ had died at a comparatively early age, but even so he was still able to be generous to the Church. In addition to bequests to his parish church in London, he left £10 to Sawston church for the purchase of vestments, equivalent to about £150 or more at the present time. He also left £8 to be disposed

... in dedes of charitie, that is to say in High Mayes . . .

And,

I will have an honest priest to sing a whole year for my soul . . . and he to have for his salary £8.

The will of his brother Edmund gives us a very different picture of rural Sawston.² The small freehold estate of about twenty acres and two of the best houses in the little town, were left to the eldest son John, after the death of Edmund's widow. The second son, William, was given a lease of the mill and £10, payable in five yearly instalments. The remaining four sons, the second of whom was named Edmund, received £10 apiece, but the money had to be collected from the estate at the rate of forty shillings a year, and given to them, as each reached the age of twenty-two years.

It is just possible that the fourth son of Edmund of Sawston may prove to be the "Bookseller," but as yet there is no proof of it. At the same time it is an interesting fact that he was the only one of the younger sons who was not recorded in the Court Rolls, in later years, as a property holder, and it is more than likely that he followed the examples of his uncles and cousins and sought his fortune in London. He may have died at an early age, but there is evidence that a member of the family—a stranger to Sawston—was present at the funeral of Sir John Huddleston in 1557, when he acted as one of the bearers. This was the year in which Blessed Edmund first entered St. John's College, Oxford.

There were two other Edmunds in the family in the first half of the sixteenth century but little is yet known about them.

¹ P. C. C. 1518.

² Consistory Court of Ely 1545.

The first was uncle to Edmund of Sawston (*ob.* 1545) and he is mentioned in the Court Rolls and in the wills of his father Robert de Sawston¹ and his brother Thomas.² In the latter he is described as "Master Edmund Campion," a form of address reserved for persons of some social status, like the lord of the manor, or in the case of clerics those who had obtained a degree in Divinity or Canon Law. *Alumni Oxoniensis* records

Edmund Campion. Lincoln college Oxford, B.A. 1514/15 Proctor 1523. B.D. 1525. Rector of Great Easton 1531. Of Colchester St. Mary 1531. Althorn 1532.

Alumni Cantabrigiensis mentions two of the name,

Edmund Campion. Vicar of Swaffham Prior 1498-1506.

Edmund Campion. B.Can Law 1501-2. Rector of St. Mary Colchester 1531-2. Rector of Easton Magna, Essex 1531-6. Vicar of Althorn, Essex 1532-6. Died 1536.

The last of these may well be "Master Edmund," but it seems possible that one of these records was based on conjecture rather than on knowledge. If he obtained his B.Can L. in 1501, it seems unlikely that he would take his B.A. thirteen years later, and his B.D. in 1525. It is more probable that the Oxford proctor was a generation later.

An Edmund Campion, clerk, was witness to the will of the same Thomas Campion in 1502, but this may be another reference to "Master Edmund" or else to the vicar of Swaffham Prior. They may even have been the same person.

Various people at Sawston, both inside and outside the family, were in a position to further the career of Blessed Edmund and to use their influence on his behalf in many different fields. In church and state, with the civic authorities of London and in the rural areas of Essex and Cambridge; in the realms of the London business world and in that of education, and even among those who were responsible for the law of the land.

First among them was Sir John Huddleston, lord of the manor, sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire and the friend and protector of the Princess Mary. He received his knighthood on her accession to the throne, and was made a Privy Councillor and Vice-Chamberlain to her husband, Philip of Spain; but the

¹ Consistory Court of Ely, 1486.

² *Ibid.*, 1492 and 1502.

most interesting fact about him is that he was related to Robert Dudley, who later became Earl of Leicester, the favourite of Queen Elizabeth, Chancellor of Oxford University, and patron of Edmund Campion. Evelyn Waugh tells us that on the occasion of Queen Elizabeth's state visit to Oxford, both Cecil and Leicester offered their patronage to Edmund, and he at once accepted the latter. It seems an odd choice, the worldly blood-stained Leicester rather than the more scholarly Cecil with whom we should expect him to have something in common, but if Edmund was of Sawston stock, this choice could be simply explained by the fact that Leicester and Edmund were already known to each other.

Edmund Huddleston succeeded his father and was knighted as high sheriff of Essex, the "Campion country." He was related by marriage to Sir Anthony Brown, chief justice to Queen Elizabeth.

Through Thomas Campion, Merchant Tailor, a first cousin of Edmund of Sawston, there were several very important connections, chief of whom was Sir Thomas White, a friend and colleague in the Merchant Taylors Company, who was very largely responsible for the education of the young Edmund, with whom he developed a close friendship. In 1553 White was elected Lord Mayor of London, and together with the Vice-Chamberlain Sir John Huddleston, he would have been concerned with the arrangements for welcoming Queen Mary to the City. This may offer an additional explanation for the fact that Edmund presented the address of welcome outside St. Paul's School, although at that time he was a scholar of Christ's Hospital.

An equally influential person was White's executor, Sir William Cordell, Member of Parliament, Speaker of the House of Commons in 1558 and Master of the Rolls. His daughter, Margaret, was wife to Henry Campion of London, and Combwell Priory in Kent, a direct descendant of Campion's Hall, Epping, and no doubt it was to them that Edmund turned for help on his way to Douai, when all his money and papers were stolen. It is difficult to imagine that Cordell was not well-acquainted with this young friend of Sir Thomas White, with his daughter's brilliant kinsman who at that time was the most popular man in Oxford, and only two years later was to be described by Cecil as "One of the diamonds of England."

There were two other family connections whose influence would have been helpful, William Blackwell, town clerk of London, and Thomas Thirlby, the son of Thomas Campion's sister, Joan. The latter had a very varied and interesting career and was subject to the same religious problems as Edmund. Having been brought up as a Catholic, he was contemporary at Cambridge with Erasmus and the future Archbishop Cranmer, and was persuaded to throw in his lot with the reformers. He was the only Bishop of Westminster to be appointed, and was subsequently translated to Norwich, and then to Ely. Under Edward VI his views moved back towards the old Church and on the accession of Mary he took an active part in the degradation of Cranmer, but he was finally removed from his see by Elizabeth for his refusal to take the oath of supremacy.

We shall never know whether his rather chequered career influenced his young kinsman, but it may well have helped to persuade Edmund to resist the wishes of his many friends at court, and avoid politics. Not for him high office in the State and the acclamation of the crowd, although they were both his for the asking. Far from being dazzled by the English Court, as Evelyn Waugh suggests,¹ he was able to look right through the glitter and the gold; he saw only the tinsel and the tarnish, and resolved to dedicate his life to higher service.

There is still much ground to be covered and many avenues to explore, such as "Master Edmund Campion" and his nephew Robert. There is John Campion of Whittlesford, who in his will² mentioned the five children of a Robert Campion, possibly he to whom the lord of Huntingdon's Manor bequeathed the house and lands he had inherited from his mother.³

There is a fruitful field for search among the university graduates of the sixteenth century, which included some fifteen or twenty of the name of Campion.⁴ The majority of these entered the church and four at least of their number were named Edmund.

The rule of celibacy of the clergy was usually accepted, but not strictly enforced, up to 1539, when the "Six Articles" of Henry VIII provided serious penalties for breaking it, and expelled from their livings those who refused to be parted from their wives and families. In 1450 John de la Bere, Bishop of St. David's,

¹ *Edmund Campion*, by Evelyn Waugh.

³ *History of Sawston*, by T. F. Teversham.

² P. C. C. 1555.

⁴ *Alumni Oxon. and Cantab.*

refused to enforce the rule on his clergy, as he derived four hundred marks a year from their women.¹ Thomas Cranmer was a good example of the period: in the course of one of his many missions abroad in the king's service, and shortly before his enthronement as archbishop, he married a German girl. In spite of the Six Articles and the strong views of the king, Mrs. Cranmer continued to live with him at Lambeth for periods of varying lengths, although not always officially as his wife. An irregular union by the great clerics was by no means unusual.

Under Edward VI the Six Articles were repealed and priests once more allowed to marry, but six years later Mary restored the system of her father and ordered the expulsion of those who had taken a wife. Elizabeth preferred her priests to be unmarried, but the rule gradually died out.

Children of priests may therefore have a claim to legitimacy, except those born during the years 1539-1547 and 1553-1600 approximately. The fact that Edmund was born during the first of these close periods and appears to have been rather sensitive about it, suggests two possibilities. His father may have been either one of these displaced priests, or else the son of one of the irregular alliances. In either case it would explain Edmund's remark at Brunn, that "he was born in lawful wedlock of catholic parents," and it would help to account for his intense dislike of the English Church, which amounted almost to a pathological hatred, and made him refer to his ordination as "the mark of the beast." It also offers an explanation of why his father drifted into the rather unusual occupation of a seller of books. On being suddenly deprived of a regular income, he could have maintained his small family by selling volumes from his own library, gradually developing it as a business.

Possibly some support for this theory may be found in the records of the Visitation of the diocese of Lincoln 1517-31,² where an Edmund Campion of Lincoln College, Oxford, was in serious trouble in 1530 and on the verge of excommunication.

Dr. Rayne visited Lincoln College Oxford in September 1530. *Edmund Campion* was too often at the house of his washer woman where he kept his horses, and which had become a house of call for the younger members of the college.

¹ *Everyman's Encyclopaedia*.

² Lincoln Record Society, Vol. 33.

Campion's case continued on 25 October . . . it involved not only his frequentation of suspect company. . . . Three days later he presented himself for correction, was absolved from excommunication, and sent back to college with an English certificate which he had to read in public.

So far as we know this passage refers to Edmund Campion, B.A., B.D., University Proctor, to whom reference has already been made. It appears to be a reference to a Tudor brothel, but it is equally possible that Edmund was maintaining a wife and family, and passing off the former as his washerwoman. It is evident too that he became *persona non grata* with the University authorities at that time, and shortly afterwards he accepted a living in Essex.

There may have been a second and younger Edmund at Lincoln College, and if he was subsequently sent down without a degree he would not appear in any list of graduates. An educated man with no degree and a little capital may well have drifted into the book trade.

Briefly to summarise, we find at the middle of the sixteenth century, three branches of a reputedly Norman family which took its name from the town of Compiègne. The first was comparatively wealthy and moved in court circles, adapting its religious views to the changes of the times. The second was mainly concerned with trade and the business world of London, and while some of the members paid lip-service to the new church, they also left small bequests in their wills to their former priests. The third, who were yeoman farmers in and around Sawston, still held to the old religion and from time to time until the Reformation, provided students for the Universities and priests for the Church. It seems to have been the only branch of the family to use the name Edmund, which was probably borrowed in the first place from the lord of the manor, Sir Edmund de la Pole, in the fourteenth century.

Farming was passing through a difficult time with the closing of the monasteries and the enclosure of the common land; the small estate at Sawston was a wasting asset which necessitated the migration to London of the younger members of each generation, but in spite of the lack of education throughout the country, some of the family were able to read and write. Across the foot of the will of Edmund Campion of Sawston (1545) his brother Christopher has written "I Christopher Campion bear

witness to this present will above written by William Hebden." The lords of the manor, John and Edmund Huddleston, were both educated men, and possibly the educational standard of the district was above the average, owing to its proximity to Cambridge.

It would be a strange coincidence indeed if Blessed Edmund was not a member of this family, when so many of the people who influenced—or were in a position to influence—his career, were so closely associated with it, or with Sawston. His patron the great Earl of Leicester; Sir John Huddleston, vice-chamberlain and high sheriff of Cambridgeshire; Sir Edmund Huddleston, high sheriff of Essex; the Master of the Rolls, the Chief Justice of England. Thomas Thirlby, bishop and politician, may have been the link between Edmund and Bishop Cheney of Gloucester, while Sir Thomas White, the great educationalist, probably contributed more than anyone. The many family connections in the City companies all played their part, and town clerk Blackwell, husband of Margaret Campion, may have stimulated the Lord Mayor, Mr. Thomas Roe, to plead for the lost exhibition. In Ireland too, the family were able to keep watch over him and save him from arrest, and a little earlier in the century John Campion, Gentleman, had deserted Dublin for the Middle Temple, where his son and heir was born, Thomas Campion, the Elizabethan poet.

Blessed Edmund made full use of his opportunities, but there can be little doubt that his many talents were partly inherited from an educated family, and we know only too well how fully he was endowed with those very qualities which he required in his successors to the dangerous task in this country:—

A conscience pure, a courage invincible, zeal incredible, a work so worthy the number innumerable, of high degree, of mean calling, of the inferior sort, of every age and sex.

ST. IGNATIUS AND MONTSERRAT

THE BENEDICTINE MONASTERY at Montserrat was founded from the Abbey of Ripoll about the year 1025, and became an independent abbey in 1409. Situated some three thousand feet above the Llobregat valley some thirty miles from Barcelona, "in a kind of eyry which nature certainly meant to be accessible only with difficulty," it has been renowned as a shrine of Our Lady since the ninth century. Hermits have lived on the heights above Montserrat throughout the ages, and here it was that St. Ignatius made the famous vigil before the *Moreneta*, the thirteenth-century *Vierge Noire*, on the Vigil of the Annunciation of Our Lady in 1522.

Last summer I visited Montserrat for the first time. By Ripoll, Vich and Manresa we went by a tortuous mountain road until in the light of a red sunset we saw "the serrated mountain," Montserrat, the Holy Mountain of Spain. Night was falling as we began the precipitous climb round the hairpin bends of the mountain road from Manresa, where St. Ignatius came from Montserrat to write the *Exercises*, to the monastery in the clouds where he vowed his life to God's service.

The details of Ignatius's stay as set forth in the *Autobiography* are eloquent. On arrival at the monastery he asked for a confessor, and a French Benedictine, Jean Chanon, heard his general confession, which took three days. Ignatius, in return for his confessor's patience, offered his mule, the mule which had refused to follow the highway which the erring Moor had taken, as an offering to the monastery. He also offered his sword and dagger to be hung before the statue of Our Lady, and told Dom Jean of his intention of going on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. During the evening of 24 March Ignatius found a poor man and gave him all his fine clothes; then he dressed himself in pilgrim's garb and went to the church, where he spent the night before *La Moreneta*, standing or kneeling all the time. Next morning he set out with his pilgrim's staff. Adrian VI, who had been Governor of Spain, had just been elected Pope, so Ignatius decided to avoid Barcelona, which would be full of his former fashionable friends, and went to Manresa, where he spent some months working in the hospital of St. Lucy and praying and writing the *Exercises* in his cave. On the way to Manresa a man overtook him and asked him if he had indeed given his fine clothes to a beggar, for the poor man had been persecuted as a thief after Ignatius's departure, whereupon Ignatius wept bitterly.

Pilgrimages to Our Lady of Montserrat were endless during the three days of my stay, and it is traditional for newly-married Catalan couples to visit her shrine. It was inspiring to see old peasant women

in black shawls and fashionably dressed *senoritas*, conspicuous by the absence of make-up, in black mantillas, and large family parties in constant procession behind the high altar, paying their homage to their beloved *Moreneta*. What does the modern world make of the faith of the Catalans and their devotion to the Mother of God before whom St. Ignatius laid down his arms? Let Mr. Bernard Newman speak:

Montserrat is another show-place, and has been described a hundred times: it had little charm for me. As a natural curiosity it was interesting, but the artificiality of its accessories repels. No one in these days thinks of taking the romantic path up its flanks; the mountain railway carries everyone. And the monks of the monastery do not ring true. Their guest-house is a second-rate hotel, and their stories of miracles are not told artlessly enough to be plausible. The monastery of Montserrat has played an important part in Catalan history. Now its glory is faded. Only the choir does not disappoint. At Montserrat you may hear Catalan ecclesiastical singing at its best.

Poor Mr. Newman! His *Round about Andorra* was published in 1928, and the thirty-two martyr monks of Montserrat brought a glory to the monastery in 1936 that will never fade. I went to all the office and had all my meals in the monastic refectory during my stay, and the standard of Benedictine observance is high. The splendid tradition of the *Escalonia*, founded in the fifteenth century, is preserved by the boy singers of the choir school. "The singing will never be done," and the faith of Catalonia is well expressed in the boys' daily sung Mass of Our Lady, which I attended each morning between saying Mass and attending the daily conventual High Mass, as it is in the superb *Salve Regina* which made other renderings seem dull and lifeless by comparison. The hospitality of the monks is in the best Benedictine tradition, and if Mr. Newman wanted a first-class hotel he should have stayed somewhere on the Costa Brava instead of visiting what he dubbed the Mecca of Catalonia.

A word about the statue beloved by St. Ignatius. *La Moreneta* dates from the twelfth or the thirteenth century, and is black in colour. Dom Albereda, the well-known historian of Montserrat, attributes this fact to the constant burning of lamps before the image throughout the centuries. But only the face and hands of the figures of Our Lord and Our Lady are black, and it seems evident that these alone were originally black in colour since the rest of the figures are not so. Our Lady holds an orb in her right hand, and her left hand is placed protectingly on the shoulder of the Holy Child. Dignity, serenity,

composure and sympathy are all revealed in the expression of Our Lady, and love and happiness are wonderfully depicted in the face of the Child.

The Benedictine is vowed to stability, and the Jesuit is the free-lance of God, ready to serve Him as a preacher in the big cities or as a missionary in the wilds of Africa. The Benedictine Congregation of St. Justina of Padua forbade its communities to call themselves "companies." Ignatius of Loyola found his vocation in the monastic family of Montserrat and in the cave of Manresa: Benedict of Nursia found his in the cave of Subiaco and in the family life of Monte Cassino. It is fitting then for all Benedictines to rejoice with the members of the Society of Jesus in the celebration of the fourth centenary of the death of St. Ignatius of Loyola, Montserrat, Manresa, Paris and Rome, who was canonised on the feast of St. Gregory the Great in 1622.

To offset the quotation from Mr. Newman, let us end this article with one from *A Stranger in Spain* by another non-Catholic Englishman, H. V. Morton, whose *In Search of Ireland* shows how discerningly he can appreciate a Catholic country and people. He ends his admirable book on Spain with a splendid tribute to Montserrat:

As the *Salve Regina* ends, the choir begins softly and sweetly to sing the *Virolai*, with which each day ends. It is a Catalan hymn written by a monk of Montserrat in honour of the Virgin. The young voices rise clear in the quiet church.

Rose of April, Dark One of the Mountain,
Star of Montserrat,
Shed light over Catalonia,
Lead us up to heaven.

Outside it is dark upon the plain, but the high peaks of the mountains are still pink. Slowly the light fades; the first star burns. I go out into the dusk, thinking that there are some places where hatred, the monstrous evil of our time, has no place.

WULSTAN PHILLIPSON

REVIEWS

FIRST THE BLADE

St. Ignatius Loyola: The Pilgrim Years, by James Brodrick, S.J. (Burns and Oates 30s).

I DO NOT KNOW whether schoolchildren today are brought up on the *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World*. There was, as Fr. Brodrick points out in this book, a sixteenth, the Battle—if that is not too proud a word—of Pamplona in 1521. It was “a small local affair that settled nothing,” but it sent Inigo de Loyola home with a shattered leg; and as he whiled away his convalescence with (*faute de mieux*) a *Life of Christ* and the *Golden Legend* there began in his soul a process which ended, as this book ends, with the foundation of the Company of Jesus, than which no single institution within the Church did more to stem the tide of sixteenth-century revolt. Fr. Brodrick had already laid us under a heavy debt by his *Robert Bellarmine*, *Peter Canisius*, *The Origin of the Jesuits* and other books. I do not think it can be doubted that this account of Ignatius’s “pilgrim years,” so fittingly published to mark the fourth centenary of the saint’s death, is the highwater mark of his historical work to date. It is necessarily based to a very large extent on the *Historical Monuments of the Society of Jesus* (seventy-five volumes so far; has Fr. Brodrick read them all?), but nowhere does it smell of the lamp, for all the innumerable footnotes that complete the luminous, humorous, charitable text above them. I felt some apprehension in undertaking to introduce the book to the readers of THE MONTH, knowing that my historical equipment was exiguous. But I have found that that does not matter, since Fr. Brodrick supplies all that one can need of both historical and geographical background. The only thing is that I shall have to look up the date of Martin Luther’s birth. Luther and Ignatius; strange contrasting products of the final decadence of the Catholic Middle Ages. The friar turned reformer, the *caballero* turned saint; two witnesses to the mystery of grace and freewill. And not only two witnesses, but the two great leaders of the embattled camps that were to divide Western Christendom till at last everyone woke up to the realisation that humanist secularism and militant atheism had come to challenge Christians to a still more desperate campaign.

Fr. Brodrick introduces us to the early history of the Loyolas and to their Basque stronghold. He is quite frank about the combination, in the immediate family of Inigo (the baptismal name which the saint still used—*Inigo poor in goodness*—long after his conversion), of untroubled faith and lax morals, the latter too typical of the age. The boy who was born at Casa Loyola in 1491 showed ample signs

as he grew up of walking in his elder brother's footsteps. It is both amusing and shocking that in 1515, on one of his visits home, he took part with his brother Pero, a priest, and others in a violent attack by night on the clergy of a local town—and sought to avoid punishment by claiming clerical immunity, as having been tonsured in boyhood. But "God our Lord" had his eye on this gay, laughter-loving young fellow, no scholar but a passionate reader of chivalrous romances. The conversion in 1521 was not the affair of a moment. The devil fought a strenuous rear-guard action, but grace triumphed in the end, and there followed the penitential pilgrim years, the journey to Jerusalem and back to Alcalá and Salamanca and so to Paris, years of appalling physical hardship, chronic illness, perseverance against almost impossible odds in the acquisition of a modicum of Latin, philosophy and theology, an astonishing yet humble apostolate, and frequent trouble with the Inquisition. All this is told by Fr. Brodrick with a wealth of colour and topical illustration. But the golden thread running through the book is Inigo's own account of the long seventeen years of preparation, and the glimpses it affords of the mystical life that is the real clue to his astounding subsequent achievement: in less than twenty years after the birth of the Society of Jesus it numbered about a thousand subjects and had become the greatest auxiliary force of the Counter-Reformation.

The Society was "born" in 1538 or thereabouts. It had, however, a pre-history. We are told that for a long time Inigo had no idea of founding a religious order. But the instinct of grace was at work towards end unseen. Twice a little group had begun to form around the saint, before the predestined individuals, Favre, Laynez, Salmerón, Rodrigues, Bobadilla, Xavier (names to conjure with) met with Inigo at Montmartre on 15 August, 1534, and took their first, unofficial vows; vows which at that date did not include an explicit one of obedience. I suppose that to the outsider obedience is the very hallmark of the Society of Jesus, and it is therefore all the more striking that behind the obedience is the "democracy" of the original "shared ideal and mutual love." The *Spiritual Exercises*, not printed till much later, were the great deciding factor for these first disciples. It is again interesting to read that, while Favre was "making them," Ignatius would advise him, as difficulties arose, how to cope with them, "but otherwise the stage was left to himself and God. According to the mind of Ignatius . . . the director of a retreat ought to play only a very subordinate role," never interfering between the soul and the Spirit of God.

Even before that date, Lutheranism had crossed Ignatius's path. It was at work in high circles in Spain, rather in the way of modernism in the Church of the beginning of our century. It bade fair to capture

a place in the sun in France owing to the vacillations of the king. When his companions were on their way to join Ignatius at Venice, "they halted in Basel for three days . . . but were not given much peace by numerous argumentative Zwinglians who sought them out to argue points of religion . . . Laynez in particular appears to have delighted in the contests"—they must have been good training for the Council of Trent. It is against a background thus threatening that we have to set Ignatius's First Rule for thinking with the Church: "We must put aside all judgment of our own and keep our minds ever ready and prompt to obey in all things the true Spouse of Christ, our Holy Mother the hierarchical Church." The rule is by no means out of date.

One could hardly wish for a wiser guide in the study of Ignatius "the pilgrim" than Fr. Brodrick. Typical is his comment when Ignatius chooses a more dangerous in preference to a less dangerous route, presumably because he thought he would thus show more confidence in God: "These were the efforts of a beginner trying pathetically to establish complete abandonment, and he had still to learn, as he so magnificently did, that a man ought to work as though everything depended on himself, and to pray as though everything depended on God. The later Ignatius . . . had become sensitively aware that God expects human co-operation and the use of common sense even in our highest dealings with him." Perhaps the book lacks a clearer, or more emphatic, warning to the reader that Ignatius's heroic penances are not for universal imitation. As a very great Jesuit master of "complete abandonment" puts it: "When (the devout person) feels no attraction or grace for so many marvels which make the saints admirable, he must be fair to himself and say: God expected that of the saints, he does not expect it of me." But in fact we find Ignatius himself reminding a nun (a Benedictine, by the way) that a due measure of sleep and food are necessary, and also of *recreation* ("I mean that we should allow our minds to dwell as they please on good or indifferent things which have no shadow of evil"), because "with a healthy body you will be able to do much for God, but with a sick one I know not what you will be able to do."

There is no time to dwell on Fr. Brodrick's Herodotean digressions, on the jovial spleen with which he pursues the unfortunate nineteenth-century town-planner, Haussmann "the black-hearted," or the other thousand and one embellishments of this masterpiece of Brodrickian hagiography. I must not, however, omit to mention the illustrations from Fr. Gillick's photographs or the four maps. This is a book for the refectory reading-desk, but also for the armchair and the circulating library. Its hero, so long prepared for his mighty task, is one of the very first of that host of saints and martyrs that was the divine answer

to the too-hurried Reformer; one of the very first, and one of the very greatest—Inigo “poor in goodness” but rich in God.

B. C. BUTLER

CAMERA LUCIDA

St. Ignatius of Loyola: A Pictorial Biography, by Leonard von Matt and Hugo Rahner, S.J. Translated by John Murray, S.J. (Longmans 30s).

MUCH RESEARCH, much learning have gone into the making of this book. The directors of museums, libraries and archives have collaborated with Fr. Rahner. From Rome, Spain, Italy, France and Switzerland has come this help, and the book, translated into fluent English by Fr. John Murray, will soon be read in French, Italian and Dutch editions, and the work will be produced in Western Germany. Leonard von Matt, the famous Swiss photographer, has magnificently illustrated this biography, as he did the biographies of St. Francis of Assisi and St. Pius X. The mind and the eye of the reader are thus impressed by the life-circle of Ignatius; the midday clarity of the writing is supported by the perfectly stated assertions of the photography. These illustrations, numerous and of a splendid variety, do make this biography of signal worth.

One can see reproduced the very surface of the stones of mighty builders, once familiar to Loyola. The spray and ripple on the Bay of Ondorrea is displayed, almost analysed, by the power of the lens. We are shown the land being ploughed today in the very manner in which Ignatius saw it husbanded. Herr von Matt has saved from the flux of change even an article of peasant clothing and that the footwear of a Basque peasant, footwear that probably may soon be demoded by time. Here a piece of harness is depicted, and there the metal bell that Loyola is supposed to have used during the sickness caused by wounds when battling against the French. (The background to the bell is delightfully chosen, it is a heavily ribbed material of wavy effect.) This was the sickness when, unable to divert himself from his pain by the reading of the romances of chivalry, Ignatius was instead enflamed by reading the lives of saints and of martyrs. The bedroom where he suffered, his bones broken and improperly reset, is photographed in its present state—that of a chapel. Along a beam are read the Spanish stirring words: AQVI SE ENTREGO A DIOS INIGO DE LOYOLA (here Ignatius of Loyola gave himself up to God). We can study the aspect of armour such as Ignatius the Basque Squire wore, can see the royal lady of his young devotion and the visage of Our Lady of Montserrat, at whose feet Christopher Columbus also knelt; other delightful early Madonnas are presented, and, at the end of the book, the ceiling fresco of the

Gesù church in Rome is displayed, and that too of the ceiling fresco in the church of St. Ignatius in Rome painted by a Jesuit lay-brother, Andrea Pozzo, representing a vision that St. Ignatius had experienced. Various portrayals of the saint are also shown.

Fr. Rahner celebrates the physical and the mental courage of Ignatius, whose height was five feet three inches. He tells us of this Basque's early battles, of his wounds and broken bones and the terrible surgical operations borne in silence. And, further on in the book, he shows us the saint putting himself to school by the side of small boys and sending himself to the University of Paris because he had gradually come to understand that the fruit of his vocation would, somehow or other, depend upon his mastery of letters, of language, of theology.

The learned author writes of the "exaggerations of asceticism" at the time when Loyola's conversion was but green, at the time when the exploits of saints and martyrs were outweighing, in his mind, the exploits of chivalry as depicted in *Amadis*, that book of ideals and of wonder that was enthralling Spain, that moved Teresa of Avila, the book that leapt into the mind of Cortes at the moment when he first beheld the glory of Mexico City.

One thing this reviewer could have asked of the author, namely, a chapter on the *Spiritual Exercises*. The caption to a photograph of a page of the original volume is: *The Book that Changed the World*, but although the *Exercises* are, of course, constantly mentioned, no account of the actual method of the meditations is given. I remember a paragraph that once I read written by a psychologist, in which he extolled the virtue of these *Exercises* as mental stimulants both steadying and curative, and this physician deplored that his patients could not be assisted by a similar means of discipline.

At Manresa, in the early stages of his new life, Ignatius began to prepare the *Exercises*, there he enjoyed with tears a contemplation of the Trinity: "In the image of three wonderful organ keys." But yet, at this period of his conversion, he still conceived of the Supreme Spirit as being like a schoolmaster: "God treated me as a schoolmaster treats a child." The author asserts that: "To Inigo at Manresa there came that experience which befalls all upon whom God means to outpour His spirit. The vessel of the body had to be broken." The wheel of asceticism bore him away from promptings which now could but endanger his progress in self-government.

But, since modern biographies, like the exterior of the Festival Hall in London, so often mechanise the mind, I drew out, that I might be charmed, my copy of *The Life of Don Quixote* by Miguel de Unamuno, a book with many allusions to Ignatius and frequent quotations from the biography of the saint written by Fr. Pedro de Ribadeneira, S.J., which appeared in Spanish in 1583. In Unamuno's book I read that

just as Don Quixote, on his first sally, when he sought for knighthood, had taken the way his horse Rosinante chose, so Ignatius, according to the words of Ribadeneira, when on his way to Montserrat, having parted from a Moor who had dared to question the life-long virginity of Our Lady, left to his horse the decision as to whether or no he should pursue the road the Moor had taken (so as to stab the unbeliever). "But God," writes Unamuno, "willed that his horse be enlightened," for, according to Ribadeneira, the horse, "leaving the wide and smooth road whereby the Moor had gone, turned into one that was best for Ignatius." Holy men are apt to leave great affairs to *chance*—as the less wise would name the mystery of unreason—to the choice of an animal or of a child, to the drawing of a lot; St. Francis also and the apostles did the like.

VIOLET CLIFTON

MANUEL DA NÓBREGA

Breve Itinerário para uma Biografia do P. Manuel da Nóbrega, by Serafim Leite, S.J. (Edições "Broteria," Lisbon; Livros de Portugal, Rio de Janeiro n.p.).

Cartas do Brasil e Mais Escritos do P. Manuel da Nóbrega (Opera Omnia), by Serafim Leite, S.J. (Coimbra University Press n.p.).

MANUEL DA NÓBREGA, of whom Robert Southey said, "There is no individual to whose talents Brazil is so greatly and permanently indebted," came of a respectable, though hardly aristocratic family, his uncle being High Chancellor and his father a prominent judge in Portugal. He studied at the Universities of Salamanca and Coimbra, graduating in canon law and theology, and was already an ordained priest when he entered the Society of Jesus in November 1544. As a priest and canonist he showed such conspicuous zeal and ability that despite his lifelong handicap of a bad stammer he was selected as Superior of the first Jesuit mission to Brazil which left Lisbon in February 1549, and reached Bahia a few weeks later.

Nóbrega and his five companions got to work at once on the triple task which characterised the Jesuit mission for the next two centuries. Domestication and conversion of the Amerindians; education of the male children, both white and coloured; reformation of the white colonists' morals and manners, which, like those of most European pioneers in the tropics, were apt to be based on the theory that there were no Ten Commandments south of the equator. The Jesuits' arrival coincided with the institution of a unified form of government in the colony, and Nóbrega became the trusted adviser, collaborator and friend of two out of the three governors-general who held office during his lifetime. In addition to being the founder of the Brazilian

mission, Nóbrega was its first Provincial. In 1560 he handed over this office to Padre Luis de Grã and devoted his efforts during the next seven years chiefly to securing the expulsion of the French from Rio de Janeiro, where a curious mixture of Catholics and Calvinists were endeavouring to found "La France Antarctique." Worn out by twenty-one years of ceaseless labour as a missionary and empire-builder, Nóbrega died in 1570 at the College of Rio de Janeiro (of which he was the founder and first rector) on his fifty-third birthday and the feast-day of St. Luke the Evangelist.

Fr. Leite's two books form in effect one complete work. The *Breve Itinerário* is a biographical introduction to the second (*Opera Omnia*), and recounts the life and labours of Nóbrega with particular reference to his manifold activities in Brazil. It is soberly but sufficiently annotated, and although described as an outline sketch, it is unlikely to be replaced by anything save a full-length biography from the same hand. The second volume is a scholarly and critical edition of Nóbrega's surviving works, whether previously printed or not, each document being accompanied by an explanatory introduction and elucidative notes.

As Fr. Leite points out, Nóbrega's correspondence falls naturally into two periods. From 1549 to 1559 the missionary theme is preponderant, and from 1559 to 1570 (which is much less voluminous), the growth and consolidation of the colony forms the keynote. While the general reader (assuming he knows Portuguese) will find the *Breve Itinerário* sufficient, the historian, whether clerical or lay, will naturally find much more to interest him in the *Opera Omnia*. Nearly everything Nóbrega wrote is well worth reading, but particular attention may be drawn to four outstanding pieces which no student of mission history can afford to neglect.

(1) Pp. 57-67. The report of August 1549, with his first impressions of the land and the Amerindians.

(2) Pp. 215-250. The "Dialogue on the conversion of the heathen," compiled at Bahia in 1556-7, after six years of intensive and varied efforts in the mission-field. Nóbrega discusses the difficulties of converting primitive cannibals and decides how far the use of force is justified. He argues that while it is difficult to make lasting converts among the adults, the prospects of educating the children under the paternal auspices of the missionaries are much more hopeful.

(3) Pp. 313-59. The long letter from Bahia, 5 July, 1559, to his friend the ex-governor-general, Tomé de Sousa, describing the condition of the colony and the outlook for the Jesuit mission. Contrary to the experience of St. Francis Xavier at Goa, the local Bishop at Bahia gave the Jesuits no support. This prelate was not interested in the conversion of the Amerindians, which he regarded as impractic-

able, and wanted the Jesuits to concentrate on ministering to the spiritual needs of the colonists. Nóbrega also criticises the indiscriminately hostile attitude of the settlers to the Amerindians, and argues against the introduction of the Spanish-American system of the *encomienda* and the *repartimiento* for which many of them were agitating.

(4) Pp. 397-429. A treatise on the validity of slavery in certain exceptional circumstances. Drawn up at Rio de Janeiro in 1567, this treatise is an interesting blend of Nóbrega's erudition as a canon lawyer and apostolic zeal as a missionary. He argues, *inter alia*, that slavery is unnatural and that it is ridiculous to claim that Cain's descendants were condemned to servitude in perpetuity.

Those who have read Mr. John Bury's review in *THE MONTH* of Padre Serafim Leite's truly monumental ten-volume history of the Jesuits in Brazil will not need telling that the editing of this work is beyond reproach. Both books are well printed, excellently indexed, and a credit to author and publisher. It is clear that Padre Leite is doing for Nóbrega what Fr. Schurhammer has done for St. Francis Xavier, due regard being paid to the fact that much less material is extant about the former.

C. R. BOXER

THEOLOGY OF THE SACRAMENTS

Principles of Sacramental Theology, by Bernard Leeming, S.J. (Longmans 30s).

WE HAVE HERE a work of scholarship of a thoroughness and erudition rarely achieved by English Catholics since before the days of persecution. The *Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture* was a sign of the coming change. The 760 pages of this book, with the standing and known experience of the author, are a sufficient proof of the riches of scholarship and constructive theology that will be found here. Fr. Leeming has the advantage of close contact with both Roman and English university scholarship. Previous English books on the subject have been popular statements or apologies of the Church's fundamental sacramental doctrine. With the help of this work, all who so need or desire will have the opportunity of studying Catholic sacramental theology at a university level of scholarship. There is a further matter for rejoicing. Too long has the English-speaking world been a parasite on the scholarship of other Catholic cultures. It is time we made our own contribution.

The treatment is in every way masterly. On each question, we are given a full and critical account of the scriptural and patristic evidence, and a due consideration of the views of important scholars, whether Catholic or non-Catholic. After a review of the evidence, Fr. Leeming

states his own view in the form of a "principle," which he then defends in his own way. Sources and authorities are quoted, where necessary in an English translation, so that the book is a veritable florilegium of critical material. The author and publishers are to be congratulated on printing the footnotes at the bottom of the page to which they refer, a system which makes the book far more orderly and usable than the newer fashion of relegating footnotes to end of book or chapter. Nothing is spared that makes for usability. There are seven detailed bibliographies, a summarising table of contents, and a detailed alphabetical index.

Catholics unaccustomed to scientific theology may be disappointed at the number of problems for the solution of which there are different theories, leaving us in much final obscurity. The human mind, in the presence of revealed truth, will ever seek new depths of understanding. Though we cannot get beyond the truth once revealed, there is no limit to our growth in penetrating its full meaning, and the underlying harmony between its parts.

In the defence of fundamental Catholic doctrines, Catholic theologians will gratefully recognise Fr. Leeming as an unrivalled vindicator of their cause. But also in his contributions to the deeper understanding of Catholic truth, and in his fresh and forceful suggestions towards the solution of remaining problems within the fold, we shall all be much in his debt. No one can argue a strong case more convincingly than Fr. Leeming. I think he will convince most readers of the strength of his case for "special" sacramental grace. On the other hand, where his case appears less strong, he is too conscientious a disputer not to betray a certain hesitation. This seems to be the case in what, whether or not it is widely accepted, will be regarded as the most original and important thesis of his work, where he defends a close relationship between sacramental efficacy and the mystical body. This general truth is one that theologians of all schools are ready to accept, and they will be grateful for what he has done in its development. But the details of this relationship will certainly arouse discussion and friendly controversy.

His way of expressing it involves, in effect, a new definition of a sacrament. Fr. Leeming follows Billot in not allowing that a valid sacrament can ever fail to effect what it signifies. Since an unfruitful sacrament can be a valid one, sacraments should not be defined as "effective signs of grace." Rather they are signs of a special union with the mystical body, proper to each sacrament. Through this special union, they effect the grace demanded by that union, as soon as the recipient is in the right disposition to receive it. To the obvious disadvantage of this view is the established authority of the traditional definition. On the other hand, a great compensation is its emphasis on

the permanent nature of the sacraments. A special difficulty, mentioned by Fr. Leeming, is the papacy, which is a special union with the mystical body, yet no sacrament. To answer this difficulty, Fr. Leeming has equivalently to invoke the older definition of a sacrament.

As regards their mode of causality, Fr. Leeming rejects all the classical theories, including Billot's "intentional" and the Thomist "physical" causality. The mysterious power, whereby Christ acts on the soul through the sacraments, he prefers to call "mystical," admitting that it cannot be satisfactorily explained. One Thomist, at least, after reading all Fr. Leeming's book finds it difficult to distinguish his "mystical" view from many Thomists' understanding of the "physical" view. Fr. Leeming, on the other hand, clearly sees an analogy between this "mystical" causality and the Pope's "mystical" unity of Christ's Church, which unity is more than "moral" and less than "physical."

I have only been able, in this short review, to refer briefly to one of Fr. Leeming's valuable contributions to his subject. What he has to say on every question will have to be considered by all theologians interested in these matters. Might I suggest, before terminating, that Fr. Leeming seems to do Vonier an injustice by identifying his theory of the Mass with that of Casel?

H. F. DAVIS

HUMAN LIFE AND HAPPINESS

Communism and Christianity, by M. C. D'Arcy (Penguin Special 2s 6d).

FR. D'ARCY'S PENGUIN, obviously written before the apocolocytosis of the late Marshal Stalin, is all the more apposite as the result of this event, since it is now once again possible to evaluate Communism as a theory, divorced from the personality of the late dictator, and, in as much as one of the abiding lessons of our time is the practical importance of general ideas about ultimate things, it is now doubly important to do so. Fr. D'Arcy rightly stresses the importance in Communism of its philosophical as distinct from its purely economic doctrine.

A number of Protestant theologians on both sides of the Atlantic have been tempted to regard the atheism of the Communists as a philosophical accident of Communist theory, and to indulge the fancy that, if active persecution of religion would cease, it would be possible to reconcile the theory and practice of Communism with that of Christianity, or even to treat Communism as a mild form of deviationist Christianity.

The main value of Fr. D'Arcy's analysis is that he shows why, at least in his view, such a dream is intrinsically impossible on theoretical grounds, and that he does so in terms, which, despite his own theological

position which he makes quite plain, ought to be, at least in general, as acceptable to Protestants as to Catholics. It is impossible in a short review to give a fair picture of the essentially simple, but in detail intricate, argument by which the thesis is established, without appearing trite or superficial, which Fr. D'Arcy never is.

Fr. D'Arcy has no difficulty in showing that the view of Christianity itself, which the Communists advance, as an opium of the people designed to compensate their sufferings in this with vain hopes of future life, is not in fact a correct statement of the Christian position even stated on Communist assumptions. Indeed he points out that in contrast with the Christian assurance of present friendship with God, it is the Communists who ask people to be content with "pie in the sky," a classless society, whose advent, perpetually postponed, can never, even when it comes, right the wrongs of the suffering millions who died before its coming. There is no harrowing of hell in the Communist doctrine, and, since love is repudiated as a spring of action, nothing to protect humanity from a succession of liquidations and purges, some of which at least, now that it is too late to recall them, are openly admitted to have been based on error and worse. Fr. D'Arcy has no difficulty in contrasting the Christian philosophy of man, which he distinguishes in practice from the Christian revelation, from the theory of mankind on which the whole Communist ideology is based. And since both Church and Party are respectively convinced that they know what is really significant about men and what is ultimately good for them, he makes good his general thesis that there is no possible means of reconciling the two together.

HAILSHAM

KIERKEGAARD AND CATHOLICISM

Kierkegaard et le Catholicisme, by H. Roos, S.J. (Nauwelaerts, Louvain 48 Fr.b.).

IN 1952 Fr. Heinrich Roos, who lectures in the University of Copenhagen, was invited by the Kierkegaard Society to address the members on the subject of Kierkegaard and Catholicism. This little book is a French translation by André Renard, O.S.B., of the Danish text of the lecture.

In an appendix the author gives us the list of Catholic books in Kierkegaard's library. The latter knew a little of one or two of the Fathers, very little, if anything, of the great medieval Scholastics or of the controversialists of the Renaissance; but he had some acquaintance with the thought of Möhler and Görres, and he possessed some works of Catholic spirituality. His literary knowledge of Catholicism was therefore very limited. And his knowledge of Catholic life in practice

was, it appears, non-existent. He does not seem to have had any Catholic friends, and he was never personally acquainted with a Catholic milieu.

The question, however, is not how much did Kierkegaard know about Catholicism, but whether the movement of his thought was in the direction of Catholicism. In this carefully developed and thoughtful lecture Fr. Roos argues that "the attitude of Kierkegaard with regard to Catholicism is, as everything else in his life, ambivalent." On the one hand Kierkegaard denounces Luther as representing the reaction of the human against the Christian element; and it is well known that towards the end of his comparatively short life he conducted a polemic against the Danish Lutheran Church which he accused of having come to terms with the spirit of the world and of having reduced Christianity to a respectable vaguely theistic humanitarianism. Protestantism began as a "corrective," a protest; and precisely for this reason it cannot form a distinct religion. "Protestantism is absolutely untenable." Further, to belittle works is to belittle the imitation of Christ, and the doctrine of predestination is a "monster." Again, Kierkegaard arrived by his own reflections at something resembling the theory of the analogy of being as contrasted with exaggerated emphasis on the divine otherness, on difference. On the other hand Kierkegaard carries anti-rationalism to the point of fideism, of giving to faith a purely subjectivist foundation, and of exaggerating the element of paradox, even of "absurdity," in Christian dogma, especially in the dogma of the Incarnation. Moreover, even though he stresses the idea of the authority of the apostle, he sometimes rejects outright the concept of the Church. True, if he had had a knowledge of the doctrine of the mystical body, he might have spoken differently of the institutional element in religion; but the fact remains that he contrasted the notion of the Church (Protestant as well as Catholic) with his idea of the individual before God.

I think that Fr. Roos' view of the ambivalent nature of Kierkegaard's thought is undoubtedly correct. And this Janus-like character enables us to explain the divergent ways in which the influence of the great Danish writer has made itself felt. Some people have been brought to the Catholic Church largely through a study of his writings. Such were Ferdinand Ebner in Austria and Theodor Haecker in Germany. The minds of others were directed away from modern emasculated Lutheranism to its original spirit and inspiration. And so Kierkegaard became one of the heroes of neo-Protestantism. But on the minds of some others his writings appear to have had a very different effect. Kierkegaard was wont to declare that his mission was to disabuse men of the notion that they were Christians. Some appear to have concluded that they were not and that they did not wish to be. Not that

this would have troubled Kierkegaard. He always said that he represented simple honesty. What he himself would have become, had he lived longer, is, of course, a question which none of us, Catholic or Protestant, can possibly answer.

FREDERICK C. COPLESTON

THE BRIDE

The Splendour of the Church, by Henri de Lubac, S.J., translated by Michael Mason (Sheed & Ward 18s).

MESSRS. SHEED AND WARD have placed the theologically minded English reader greatly in their debt. Last year they gave us Mr. Walter Mitchell's English translation (*Origen*) of the great work of Fr. Jean Daniélou, S.J., the foremost authority in the world on the brilliant Alexandrian, as was recognised at the international patristic conference held at Oxford last summer. It is appropriate that Fr. Henri de Lubac, another member of the group of French writers who are themselves an ornament of the Church in our generation, should now give us this profound study of the Church. The title daunted us a little; we feared that the work might have more enthusiasm and eloquence than substance. The suspicion proved completely unfounded; eloquent and enthusiastic the book is, but it is packed with thought, rich in illumination, glittering with the finest images and the profoundest sayings of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church. It is, however, far more than an anthology. We are used, of course, to telling individualist Protestant friends and critics that the Church, like Our Lady, far from "coming between" us and Christ, leads us to Christ, and that it is in her and through her sacraments that the universal redemption won on Calvary is applied to individuals; but beyond that we are often vague about the Church. Fr. de Lubac penetrates the mystery that is the Church, not just an assembly of the faithful united in the memory of Christ and visited by the Spirit, but a hierarchic body of Christians, the Body of Christ, permanently indwelt by the Holy Spirit. "Thus the Church is not only the first of the works of the sanctifying Spirit, but also that which includes, conditions and absorbs all the rest. The entire process of salvation is worked out in her; indeed, it is identified with her. . . . It is in the Church that God looks upon us and loves us, in her that He desires us and we encounter Him, and in her that we cleave to Him and are made blessed."

Briefly and lucidly Fr. de Lubac explores a score of topics. He discusses the relationship of schismatics and heretics to the Church, commenting helpfully on the encyclical *Mystici Corporis*; he has some valuable pages on the "pre-Incarnation Church" ("Hermas was right when he saw her in his vision as an old woman. . .") and on the rela-

tionship of Church and State. He exposes the shallowness of Luther's view of the Church, underlining its paradoxical naturalism and commenting "doubtless Luther himself would not have gone wrong on this point if he had not found himself bound to justify the schism, into which he had allowed himself to be carried away, by a new ecclesiology formulated after the event." He explains how man can be saved from his solitude neither by the arts or philosophy or by any social grouping, but only by the Church which satisfies man's thirst for communion because she is, in Origen's phrase, "full of the Trinity." We should know *a priori*, or at least by analogy, that so great a good as membership of the Church must entail some sacrifice; Fr. de Lubac is aware that the cross comes to us not only in the Church, but also sometimes from the Church; how could she mother Christ to us if she did not give us His Cross? While applauding a proper reformism and deploring complacency, he warns against the querulousness that is an affront to the One Spirit of love who inhabits the Church. This book breathes love of the Church and the spirit of charity.

A. A. STEPHENSON

SHORTER NOTICES

The Martyrs of Durham and the North East, by Rev. John A. Myerscough, S.J. (John Burns, Glasgow 6s).

LOCAL HISTORIANS of the County Palatine of Durham and its neighbours Northumberland and Yorkshire will be grateful to Fr. Myerscough for making available much local history. The North lived and still to some extent lives a life of its own. Railways and motor cars have not altogether obliterated the "otherness" of England north of Trent, and it is a great pleasure to read the heroic Catholic associations of Cleasby, Middleton-Tyas, Coniscliffe, Barnard Castle, Brancepeth, Aysgarth and the Blockhouses of Hull. The family names, too, are redolent of Danelaw: Thirkeld, Pickering, Osbaldeston, Thimbleby, Ingoldsby. The persecution of Catholics under the jurisdiction of the Council of the North was all the more resolute because the North was for long solidly Catholic, and York was consequently more cruel than Tyburn.

Fr. Myerscough's book is a simple and unadorned narrative, and gains a cumulative effectiveness from the brief notice of so many cases of oppression objectively related from primary sources. The chapter devoted to the remarkable family of Blessed Ralph Corby is beautifully done, and embodies much research. It is astonishing how impervious

our "standard" historians are to the abundant material dealing with the long persecution of Catholicism. Sheer ignorance is still common. A recent lecturer and author of a new and important book on Tudor Government was unable to answer the question "What is a pursuivant?" He might learn the answer from p. 126 of Fr. Myerscough's little book, with the reference there given. Is it not clear that one who does not know what a pursuivant is has no idea of the machinery by which law was enforced? The history of this persecution will be of interest and importance when all other aspects of English government of the period are forgotten.

The Castle and the Ring, by C. C. Martindale, S.J. (Kenedy \$3.75).

IN THIS STORY Fr. Martindale undertakes the ambitious task of recounting Christian history from the first century to the twentieth. The first scene is set in Roman Britain in A.D. 80, and from there we go East to see the evangelist St. Luke, bequeathing to his nephew the gold dust given by the Magi to the Child. The dust is turned into a ring, and the story of the ring provides the framework for an account of the adventures of various men and women through whose hands it passes. Eventually, "the delicate, frail ring" is embedded in the stem of a chalice which finds its way to Palestine.

For all its ambitiousness, the book comes off. No one, least of all the author himself, would pretend that it is more than a fantasy, but it is a fantasy rooted in the solid earth of Christian history, and behind the tale which Fr. Martindale tells is an immense amount of learning lightly worn and human sympathies richly manifested. Although he speeds from A.D. 80 to A.D. 1877 in less than 160 pages, and in the remaining 120 lingers over some 50 years, in some strange way the earlier chapters are almost more vividly realised than the later ones. Readers of *The Pylon* will recognise and be glad to have in one volume the individual articles which have been delighting them for some years, and no doubt the hypercritical will complain that the book bears marks of its serial composition; but we must be glad and grateful that Fr. Martindale has decided to publish the story written at first, as he tells us, for his own recreation. "I would not know what to make of the world if I could not see a heavenly gold shining across the glitter, and the promise of a heavenly home for us exiles that has never been broken."

Praying our Prayers, by H. P. C. Lyons S.J. (Longmans 6s 6d).

PROBABLY no two persons pray—or even "say their prayers"—in quite the same way: but it is equally from God that all true prayer begins. We have not got to pull God down to listen to us: it is He who

draws us up towards Himself; for such analogies: putting ourselves in God's presence, seeing deeper into God, are permissible. So too are words, which Our Lord took for granted we would use—"When you pray," He said, "pray like this," and proceeded to speak a few sentences composed of the minimum of words. Still, they *are* words, and no one will rebuke Fr. Lyons for supplying yet another "prayer-book" composed of the simple words that express ideas that have penetrated him. He has chosen the *Pater*, the *Ave*, the *Anima Christi* and the *Salve Regina*, and each of these inspires him to make "colloquies," as they say. Whether these prayers are "prayed" just as they stand, or adapted, or used as "spiritual reading," no matter—provided hurry be avoided. The Rosary is constantly recommended to us: yet we have known its public recitation actually hinder conversions; the words were a mere gabble; and no one could be naïve enough to suppose that the congregation was "meditating."

The Writings of Bishop Patrick, edited by Aubrey Gwynn, S.J. *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, Vol. I. (Dublin, Institute for Advanced Studies 25s).

IT IS WITH GREAT PLEASURE that one welcomes the start of this new series which aims at publishing in critical editions the Latin works written by Irishmen, many of which are at present uncollected or in a very incomplete state. Fr. Gwynn has made a splendid beginning for the series with the works of Bishop Patrick of Dublin (1074-1084). The Bishop could turn a good hexameter, and from his little poem *Perge, carina* seems to have been reading Catullus, but where he got his learning is a problem. Fr. Gwynn points with great probability to Worcester, where he had studied under Wulfstan, but some elements of his culture were authentically Irish. He has, for instance, the Irish view of Hell, that it will be infernally cold, alternately with its fiery pains, in his treatise *De Tribus Habitaculis animae*, a treatise which by its speculation on the nature of God and free-will must have been responsible for many of the medieval debates, for it was extant in more than a hundred manuscript copies and was commonly taken for a work by Augustine. All in all, this beginning augurs well for the new series and should have great success.

Standing on Holy Ground, by Robert Nash, S.J. (Gill 12s 6d).

AT A TIME when the fate of the Holy Places is in danger of being obscured by the concentration of public interest on political and secular issues in Palestine, we welcome this attempt by a well-known Irish Jesuit to focus attention on the Holy Places themselves, visited in a spirit of faith by this group of Irish pilgrims in 1954. The book is appropriately dedicated to an earlier pilgrim-soldier, St. Ignatius

Loyola, in his quater-centenary year. Fr. Nash went to Palestine with an open heart and open eyes, constantly relating the contemporary scene to the events of the Gospel, sympathising with the plight of the Arab refugees and with the Jewish converts whom he met in Israel. "One result of our pilgrimage," he writes, "was to impress upon us the urgency and the need of the apostolate to the Jews." Fr. Nash, who prayed in the chapels dedicated to Moses and Elias on Mount Thabor, found among the Jews a widespread ignorance of the New Testament; probably the best way to stimulate their interest is by making ourselves better acquainted with the Old Testament and by a frank admission that Christian history contains some dark pages relating to the Jews. Yet if a need and secret longing for Christ and His Church are inbred in every race, this is pre-eminently true of the Jews. We should evangelise them, therefore, with a special sympathy and understanding, encouraged by the Apostle's words to the Gentiles: "For if thou . . . contrary to nature were grafted into the good olive-tree, how much more shall they who are the natural branches be grafted into their own olive-tree?" (Rom. 11, 24.)

Jesuit Letters and Indian History: A Study of the Nature and Development of the Jesuit Letters from India (1542-1773) and of their Value for Indian Historiography, by John Correia-Afonso, S.J. (Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Rs. 7-8-0; \$2; 13s 6d).

AS THE AUTHOR explains in his preface, this is a critical evaluation of a group of documents, not an exposition of newly discovered historical facts nor history written on the basis of Jesuit records. In pursuance of this aim, he discusses the value of the Jesuit letters for the historiography of India, describes their various categories and ramifications, indicates the historical works wherein use has been made of them, and gives a brief account of the whereabouts of the chief manuscript collections. Those familiar with the scholarly publications of Frs. Hosten, Heras, Schurhammer and Wicki will not find a great deal of new information in this book, but it is very convenient to have so much relevant bibliographical material assembled here. Fr. Correia-Afonso has no difficulty in showing the value of these letters for the student of Indian history, and he points out that the originals in the Archives at Rome (or elsewhere) are often more interesting and informative than the sixteenth to eighteenth century published versions which were frequently edited by persons who knew nothing of the East. The importance of the Jesuit letters for the history of Mughal India has long been recognised, but less attention has been paid to the letters from their missions in Southern India. Fr. Correia-Afonso's conscientious work may help to stimulate research in this field.

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ONE of the great occupational risks of business life under the pressure of to-day is that the practical man of affairs neglects his outside reading, and all too easily falls into a narrow circle of immediate preoccupations. There is always loss in this, and the Catholic business or professional man, as a member of the Church Universal, has a particularly strong reason for keeping his mind open to wider horizons. Certainly it was never more necessary than now to follow world happenings. A direct chain of causes and effects ties every business to economical changes in the world, which are themselves as often the consequence as the cause of changes in men's political and social ideas. These ideas in their turn come out of the religions, or irreligions, of contemporary man.

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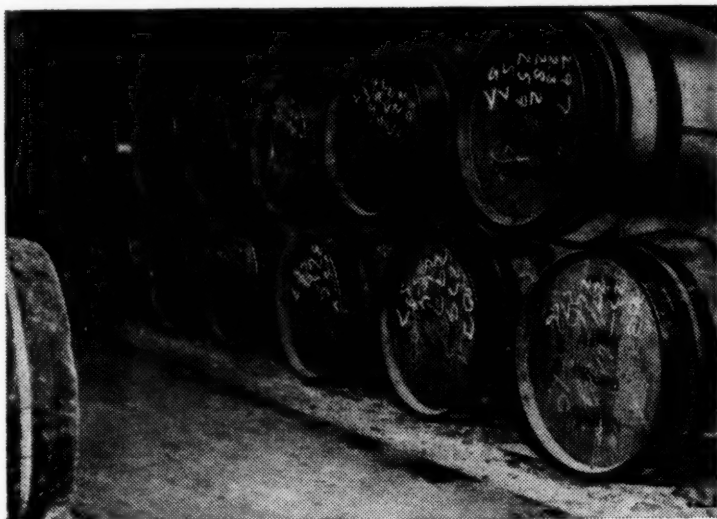
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